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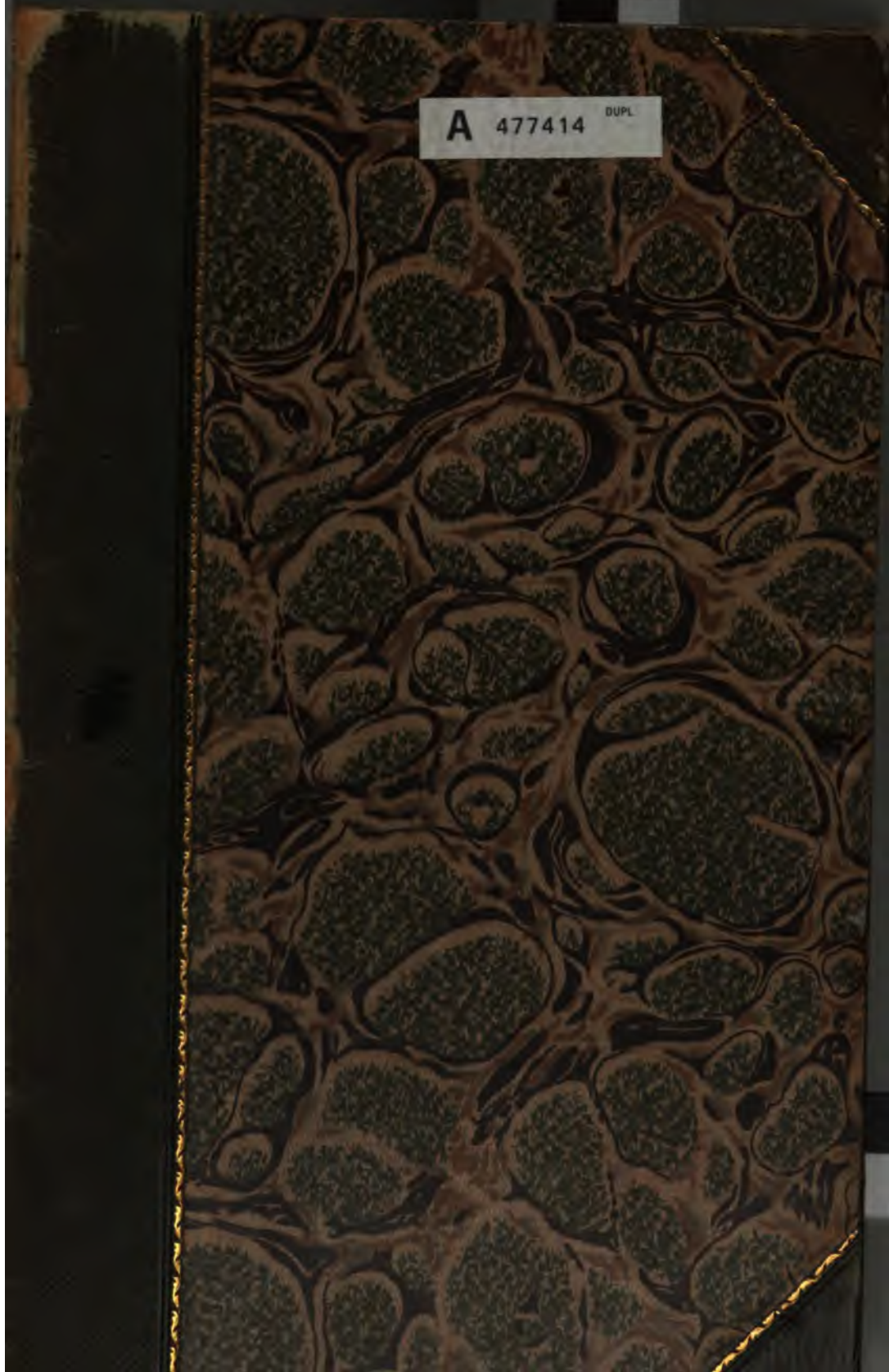
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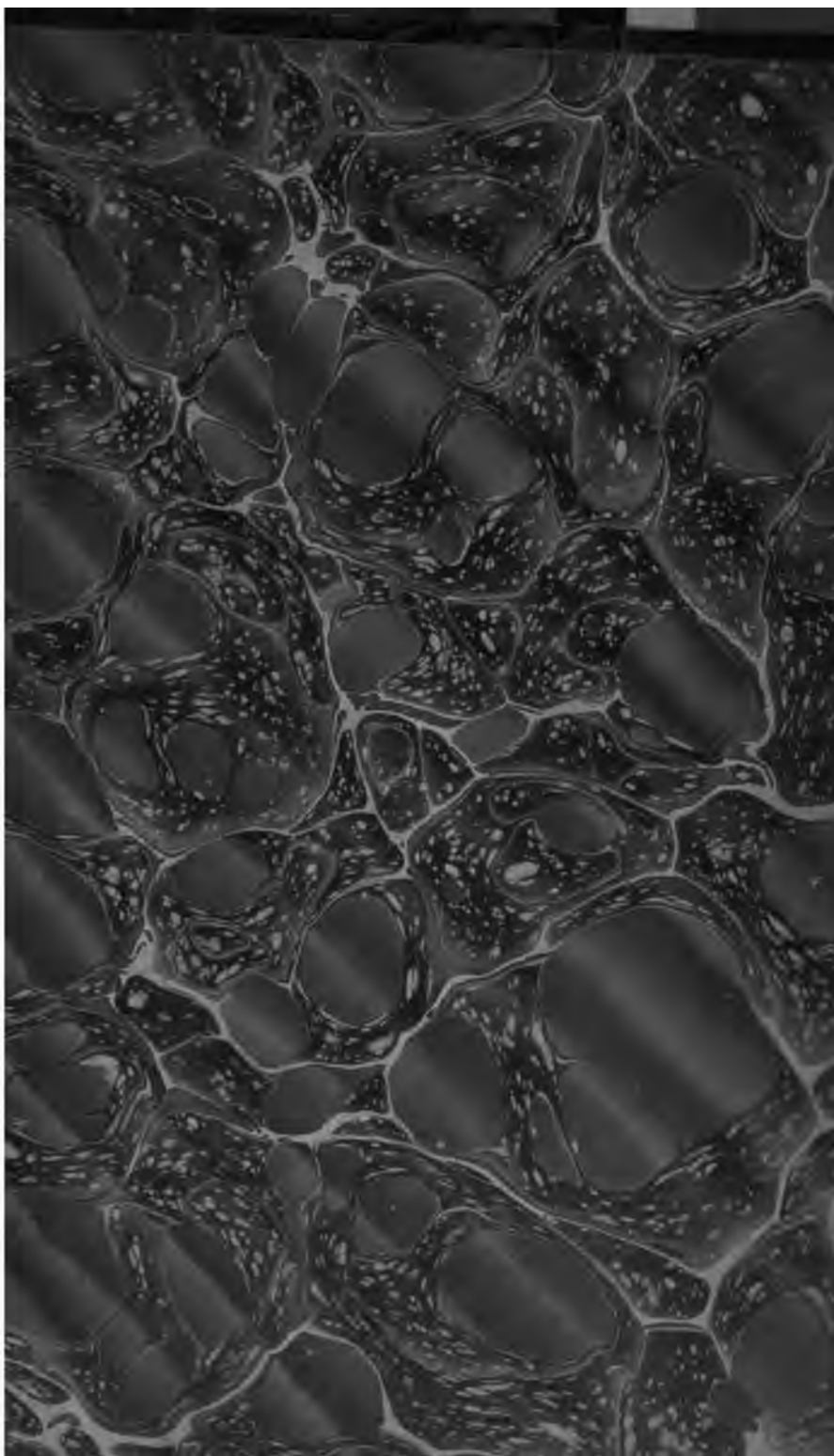
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THE
HISTORY OF IRELAND,

FROM ITS
INVASION UNDER HENRY II.

TO ITS
UNION WITH GREAT BRITAIN.

BY FRANCIS PLOWDEN, ESQ.

IN TWO VOLUMES.

VOL. I.

“Incorrupta fides nudaque veritas.”—HON.

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TO

HIS ROYAL HIGHNESS

THE PRINCE OF WALES.

SIR,

UNDER the sanction of your Royal Highness's patronage, I brought before the public my Historical Review of the State of Ireland; and confident I am, that every true Irishman will sympathize with me in the honor of being permitted to dedicate to your Royal Highness my further efforts to throw new light upon the history of so important a part of your settled inheritance. The field of literary pursuits offers no object of research more interesting and

instructive, than the investigation of the authenticity of the remote history and early civilization of Ireland. The Irish, Sir, are a discerning, warm-hearted, gallant people. They love and revere the Prince, who confides in them. Their gratitude knows no stint. They doubly appreciate your virtues, as the ornament of that family, from which alone they have received favor since the invasion of their country by the Plantagenets. Your Royal Progenitor, the Grandfather of the Princess Sophia, from whom your Royal Highness draws that noble and valuable blood, which runs through your royal veins, frequently boasted his descent from the illustrious race of Irish monarchs; the longest and best authenticated line of ancestry, which the annals of mankind display. No discouragement, no hardship, no persecution have extinguished the pative and hereditary spirit and power of that valiant people. Their exertions of gratitude and attachment will ever keep pace with those amiable and distinguished talents, which with pride they

contemplate in your Royal Highness. As the History of Ireland, since its connection with England, has been more wilfully disfigured than that of any nation on the earth, I confidently assume, that the most punctilious adherence to truth can alone render this work worthy of the high honor of being inscribed to your Royal Highness, by

Your Royal Highness's

Most respectful and dutiful Servant,

THE AUTHOR.

THE PREFACE

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THE AUTHOR.

MR. NEWNHAM, in his * *Statistical and Historical Enquiry into the Progress and Magnitude of the Population of Ireland*, has fixed it at 5,395,436. Besides that number of residents in the island, whoever considers the multitude of Irish emigrants in every class of society throughout the British empire, will not hesitate to allow the whole Irish population fairly to exceed 5,000,000; which constitutes a full third of the computed population of the British empire in Europe. Admitting this proportion of the general population to be numerically equal to one-

* Published in 1805, p. 320.

third of our physical force, it is in obvious proof, that many circumstances attending the Irish portion of that force give it a preponderancy of importance, far above the other parts, in all the relations of war. Ireland is the most prolific nursery for manning our navy and army : she is the great mart of the provision trade for victualling our fleets : and her situation renders her the most vulnerable part of the empire. The interests, therefore, of Ireland most imperiously command the attention of the British government, as, particularly in the prospect of endless warfare, they most essentially involve the safety of the empire.

Every British and Scotch writer upon the affairs of Ireland, since its connection with England, has systematically represented the Irish as a foreign people, as barbarous enemies, or abject slaves. The want of faithful historians amongst themselves is with too much reason complained of ; “ Were we to take a view (says Harris *) of “ the wretched condition, in which the history of Ireland stands, it would not be a “ matter of astonishment, that we should

* Har. Hibernica, 8vo edit. p. 274.

“ be considered as a people in a manner
 “ unknown to the world ; except what little
 “ knowledge of us is communicated by
 “ merchants, seafaring men, and a few tra-
 “ vellers, while all other nations of Europe
 “ have their historians to inform their own
 “ people, as well as foreigners, what they
 “ were, and what they are.” Numerous
 in fact are the writers upon Irish matter,
 historical, political, statistical, commercial,
 physical, and critical. Yet Dr. Warner,
 with most of them before his eyes, in
 1761, tells us, in the Preface to his own
 History of Ireland *, “ that he was convinc-
 ed of the truth of what had been said to

* Pref. ix.—Dr. Warner was a learned and zealous divine of the established church. He only wrote one quarto volume of his intended history, in which he acknowledges to have received great assistance both from the public and from private individuals : that volume comes no lower than the 12th century. Although he avow, that *the difficulties did not* affright him, yet he desisted from his undertaking from disappointment in the parliamentary assistance, which his great patron, the Duke of Northumberland, had given him grounds to expect. In 1767, he published a quarto volume of the History of the Irish Rebellion in 1641. Dr. Warner has had the candour to demonstrate the falsehoods of all his predecessors : he has written with more regard to truth, and with more independence of mind, than before ever came from the pen of an English writer of Irish history. Yet is his own national bias but too plainly discoverable throughout these two volumes.

him by a person of an eminent situation in this country, that *there was no one point of literature so much wanted in England, as a good Irish history.*"

In this work, which is a compendious general history of Ireland, from its first connection with England, to its incorporate union with Great-Britain, the sole object of the author has been to place before the eyes of an uninformed public; the real undisguised system of governing that country, and the effects and consequences of that system upon Ireland in particular, and the British empire at large. He will be here found to speak of the Union in a manner different from that, in which he treated the subject in his Historical Review of the State of Ireland. That work was undertaken with a direct view of reconciling the public mind in Ireland to the measure of Union, which after a convulsive struggle had by dint of ministerial influence and address been recently carried against the marked sense of a decided majority of the Irish people. The Historical Review was published in the summer of 1803; and about seven months after it had appeared before the public, the Author found it requisite from circum-

stances, not altogether uninteresting to Ireland, to publish a postliminous preface to that work*, in which he thus spoke of that measure.

“ He had long considered, as he still does
“ consider, that an incorporate union of
“ the two kingdoms must be the greatest
“ blessing to the British empire, if followed
“ by an indiscriminating adoption of all his
“ Majesty’s subjects in the assumption of
“ the Imperial Parliament’s manifesting the
“ same tutelary attention to the interests of
“ the people of Ireland, which it does to
“ those of the city of London, or the most
“ favoured portion of the British empire :
“ he passed in review all the intermediate
“ scenes exhibited on the theatre of that
“ ill-fated country, between the years 1792
“ and 1801 : he enquired into the effects
“ produced up to that time (the end of
“ August, 1801 †) by the Union : and he
“ lamented to find, that it became daily

* It was published in quarto by Carpenter, New Bond-street, London ; and in octavo, by Fitzpatrick, Capel-street, Dublin, early in 1804.

† That was the time at which he took that work in hand.

“ less palatable to the people of that part
“ of the united kingdom. He discovered
“ from enquiries, that so far from its uniting
“ and consolidating the affections of the
“ Irish with those of the British, a general
“ discontent and disgust at the measure
“ seemed to pervade all ranks of people
“ throughout that country.”

The uniform conduct of the British Government and the Imperial Parliament towards Ireland, since her incorporate union with Great Britain, has tended rather to disappoint and irritate than to soothe and conciliate her affections for Great Britain. Not one of those flattering objects have been realized, which the Irish before the Union had been taught to expect from the liberality of an Imperial Parliament, uninfluenced by the local prejudices of their own senate. As every effort to improve the condition of Ireland, attempted in the Imperial Parliament, has failed, the Irish naturally consider the redress of their grievances more remote and desperate, than whilst they had a Parliament of their own. To the Imperial Parliament they send not one-sixth of the representatives, and can

therefore claim no controul over the present House of Commons. Although the representation of the Irish House of Commons were heretofore imperfect and corrupt ; yet reflection and repentance now produce conviction, that the reform of the representation rested with the electors. The extinction of the Irish Parliament has rendered their reasoning fruitless, and their repentance unavailing. Great Britain has thus assumed the ungracious system of rejection, by which she must necessarily loosen the attachment, forfeit the confidence, and extinguish the respect, which the Irish have ever been disposed to entertain for her. The Irish are nationally and individually grateful. The Author, from the high estimation, in which he holds their innate spirit, talents, and powers, has exerted his humble efforts to render them an act of national justice, by a *true* historical representation of *what they were, and what they are.*

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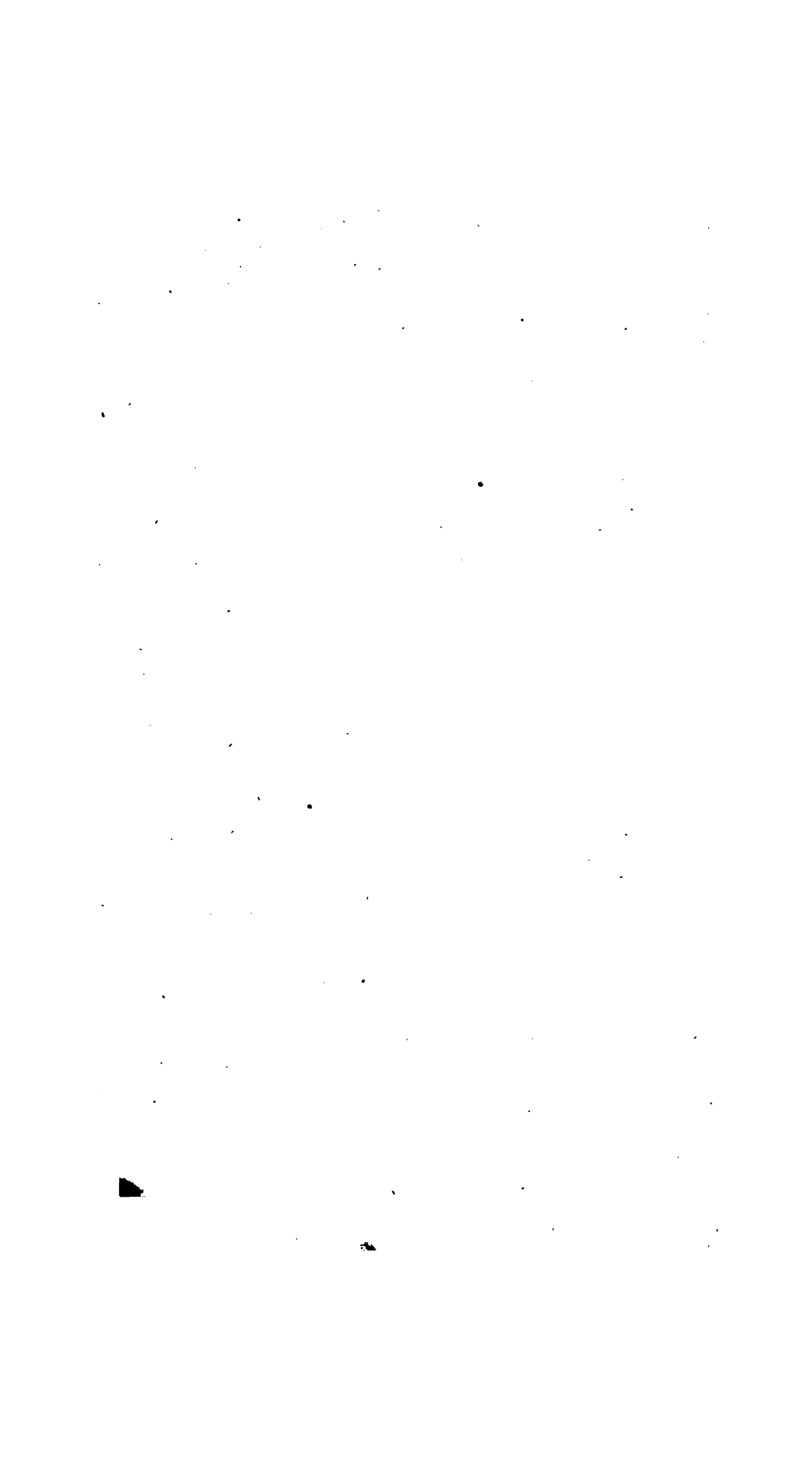
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A

HISTORY OF IRELAND.

A

DISSERTATION

On the ANTIQUITY of IRISH HISTORY.

A NATION is as much entitled to historical, as an individual is to distributive justice. Since the Irish have been connected with England, they have laboured under more historical misrepresentation and traduction than any people of Europe. No attempt has hitherto succeeded, perhaps none ever will succeed, to write an History of Ireland that shall be admitted true, in all its parts, by all parties. The attempt is disheartening, it is not impracticable*. Who follows truth

Irish History generally misrepresented.

* It is the duty of the historian to falsify Mr. Hume's assertion, that, *No man has as yet arose, who has been enabled to pay an entire regard to truth, and has dared to expose her, without covering or disguise, to the eyes of the prejudiced public.* (Jac. ii.) That this duty is severe is admitted by one of the most respectable historiographers of that country: "Even at this day, the historian of Irish affairs must be armed against censure only by an integrity, which confines him to truth, and a literary courage, which despises every charge, but that of wilful or careless misrepresentation." (Lel. Prel. Disc. iii.) Disappointment would follow any expect-

Use of
History

must disregard party. *Semper eadem* is an adage, which brings to a level the remotest times, and most disparate usages. "The love of history seems inseparable from human nature, because it seems inseparable from self love. The same principle, in this instance, carries us forward and backward to future and past ages. We imagine that the things which affect us must affect posterity. This sentiment runs through mankind from Cæsar down to the parish clerk in Pope's Miscellany. We are fond of preserving, as far as it is in our frail power, the memory of our own adventures, of those of our own times, and of those that preceded it *." There can be no impropriety in applying to a particular people what a great philosopher applied to mankind at large. History, true or false, speaks to our passions always. Nature has opened

tation of approbation or countenance from the performance of that duty. Hugh O'Reilly was, at the Revolution, a Master in Chancery, and followed the fortunes of James II. who, after his abdication, named him his Irish Chancellor. In 1693, he published *Ireland's Case briefly stated*, in which he as freely and truly stated the ungrateful conduct of Charles II. towards his Irish subjects, as he did the other transactions in that country after the Reformation. The exiled monarch read and disapproved of the manuscript. It contained too much truth: M'Geoghgan's Hist. i. vol. lvi. O'Halloran truly observes, that, "during the reigns of Elizabeth, James I. Charles I. and Charles II., to write in favour of Ireland or Irish affairs, was deemed a proof of enmity to Great Britain; and that was the reason that all the works which were published in her favour during that period, were printed in foreign countries," (Prel. Disc. xlix.) This can no longer be the case since the incorporate union of Great Britain and Ireland.

* Bol. Lett. ii. on the Study of History.

this study to every man that can read and think. And what she has made the most agreeable, reason can make the most useful application of the mind. The identity of general moral duty imports the identity of man's power, disposition, and obligation, and leads, by interesting instruction, to the conclusion of natural and revealed precept. The art of profiting of history renders the mind familiar with the remotest times and circumstances. The indulgence and resistance of the same passions in Job and Job's flatterers and tormentors, produced three thousand years ago precisely the same effect, which in our intercourse with the world we daily witness and experience. But without intense reflection upon the identity of human nature, we are apt to confound the remote with the fabulous, to mistake anachronism for falsity, and sometimes to assume fiction even from probability.

The pride of ancestry, or interest in the fate of our forefathers, is more than a weakness, when indulged to the excess of over-rating ourselves, or undervaluing others. Short of either of these effects, it is always natural, frequently rational, sometimes meritorious. No nation, on the face of the globe, (except the Chinese and Egyptian chronologists, who contradict the Mosaic accounts,) lays claim to such high antiquity, early civilization, and historical evidence, as the Irish. Whilst Ireland remained unsubdued, retaining her own language, laws, and antient customs, this claim was never questioned. But from the moment our King Henry II. had obtained a footing in that country, commenced the system of treating the Irish

Pretensions
of high an-
tiquity.

as a conquered people: it became the ill-judged policy (too long alas persevered in) of the conquerors to humble and oppress the conquered. To a high-spirited people, which boasted of a monarchy that had retained its independence through a race of 197 kings for 2000 years, no humiliation could be more galling than to throw discredit upon their history, and traduce and vilify their origin, lineage, and government. The hour, which united the two kingdoms under one crown, gave birth to the national contest about the authenticity of the antient history of Ireland; a contest which, after the lapse of seven centuries, is more warmly combated than it was when Gerald Barry* first threw down

* Gerald Barry, commonly called Giraldus Cambrensis, was a nephew to Fitzstephens, one of the principal adventurers in the Irish expedition; he was sent over by Henry for the avowed purpose of writing such a history of Ireland as should be agreeable to the court of England, consequently, not very favourable to that of Ireland. Without troubling the reader with numerous critiques upon the ignorance, infidelity, and malice of this author towards the Irish, suffice it to apprise him, that Bishop Nicholson says, (Hist. Ir. Lib. p. 3,) that Mr. J. Lynch, to whom Mr. Flaherty prefaces his *Ogygia*, wrote a particular detection of *this man's mistakes and slanders*, which he called *Cambrensis Eversus*, and published under the name of Gratianus Lucius: and, p. 40, he adds, Mr. J. Lynch has abundantly *laid open the falsities and failures of Cambrensis in his history, as well as in his topography*. Sir James Ware, (Ant. of Ir. cxxiii.) says, "We might here observe many things that are fabulously delivered by Giraldus Cambrensis concerning Ireland, but we remit them to the examination of others; for to do it exactly would require a particular treatise, and I cannot but wonder, that some men of this age, otherwise grave and learned, should obtrude these fictions of Giraldus upon the world for truths."

the gauntlet by the orders of his royal master, Henry II.

Very stern philosophy may in some few instances ^{Indifference to past events.} work an indifference to all past events and circumstances, in which one is not personally concerned; but such forced apathy can only be planted in the extinction of the more amiable sympathies of human nature. If Bolingbroke said truly, that *the study of history seems of all other the most proper to train us up to private and public virtue*, such excess of stoicism, and ascetic weaning from the concerns of this life, can be hardly desirable.

History is founded on facts, not theories. There ^{Parties for and against the authenticity of Irish History.} exist at this hour two numerous parties determinately engaged to support and oppose the authenticity of the antient History of Ireland. It has become a national, and, consequently, an interesting subject of difference. The solution of the doubt resting solely upon the weight of human evidence open to each party, precludes the propriety of any person ^{concerned} engaged in the controversy remaining neuter. At the same time it may be pertinently asked, what concern that Irish annalist can assume in the truth or falsity of the history preceding the period of which he professes to give an account. The answer is, that the object in writing the History of Ireland from its dependance upon England, till its incorporate union with Great-Britain, is to bring before the eyes of a prejudiced public, without covering or disguise, the real character and conduct of the Irish people, and the manner, in which the British Government has uniformly acted towards them. The adver-

saries in this historical contest are not absolutely divided, as might be expected, into British and Hybernian. Now, as well as in the days of Ware, men, *grave and learned*, have ranged themselves on opposite sides. The contest cannot be decided by number or weight, but by dint of argument and force of evidence.

Intent of
this Dissertation.

In every controversy the contest is half decided, when the statement of the case is admitted by the antagonists. The intent of this Dissertation is not to investigate and display the particulars of a period, the history of which is not intended to be written, but freely to discuss the general claim, which the native Irish lay to the possession of a vernacular language, which their ancestors spoke about 3000 years ago, and to the government of their forefathers during such time by monarchs and laws of Scythian origin, until the sovereignty of their country passed into the hands of Henry Plantaganet. There is no intent to prove the precise chronology of each reign, or the veracity of every fact recorded by the annalists. The question is, Do any such annals exist? If they do, Are they to be credited as to their general substance?

Diversity of
national
characters.

There is a diversity of national, as of individual character. Neither is secure from obloquy. From the publication of Gerald Barry's fabulous traductions of the Irish nation, about the close of the 12th century, to the publication of Dr. Ledwich's ast edition of his Irish Antiquities in 1804, there has appeared in many British writers, an unaccountable lust to vilify and criminate the Irish nation from the mere

circumstance of their maintaining the general authenticity of their historical annals; as if the bare presumption bereft them of every fair pretension to national genius, character, and credit.

Dr. Leland * has observed, that “if we enquire into the manners of the antient Irish from English writers, we find the representation odious and disgusting. The historian of England sometimes regards them as the most detestable and contemptible of the human race. The antiquary of Ireland raises them to an illustrious eminence above all the European countries.” Justice, however, calls for this obvious remark; that, from Cambrensis downwards, not one of the British writers † upon Irish affairs, (except the respectable and learned Vallancey) was sufficiently master of the Irish language to understand one of the authors in his native tongue. The Reverend Dr. Warner therefore says ‡, “as to all the English writers, who have attempted to give any part of the History of Ireland, such as Cambrensis, Campian, Hanmer, Stanishurst, Spencer, Morrison, Cox, &c. it is difficult to determine, whether they shew more inaccuracy and ignorance, or malevolence and partiality.” For preventing any imputation of partiality, recourse is only had to British authors for the purpose of properly appreciating the authority of their own countrymen, when they treat of Irish affairs. The temptations to historical infidelity have been strongly avowed by Dr. Leland, with reference to himself. He also tells us §,

Partiality
and incompetency of
British writers in Irish
affairs.

* Prel. Dis. xl. † Even Usher and Ware had translations of some of them made for them. ‡ Pref. iii. § Prel. Disc. ii.

that "at the Revolution the favour and patronage of government encouraged Sir Richard Cox to write an History of Ireland; but, however assiduous in his researches, he produced nothing better than an hasty, indigested, and imperfect chronicle." That historical commissioner is little reserved in his opinions*: he finds "it strange, that the affairs of this noble kingdom should find no room in history, but remain so very obscure, that not only the inhabitants know little or nothing of what has passed in their own country, but even England, a learned and inquisitive nation, skilful beyond comparison in the histories of all other countries, is nevertheless but very imperfectly informed in the story of Ireland. As for those histories that treat of the times before the English conquest, Dr. Keating's is the best; but, after all, it is no more than *an ill-digested heap of very silly fictions.*"

British writers treat the antient history of Ireland as wholly fabulous.

Mr. M'Pherson says, that † "the History of the Milesian Colony, which it is pretended transmigrated from Spain into Ireland, under the conduct of Heremon and Heber, is absolutely unworthy of any credit. That the long list of kings, who are said to have held the scepter of Ireland for 13 centuries before the

* Cox's Preface to the Reader. Sir Richard Cox seemed to think, that it was the duty of a Protestant to disbelieve the antient history of Ireland because believed by the generality of the Irish, who were Papists. "At this day," says he, "we know no difference of nation, but what is expressed by *Papists* and *Protestants*. If the most antient natural Irishman be a Protestant, no man takes him for other than an Englishman; and if a cockney be a Papist, he is reckoned in Ireland as much an Irishman, as if he was born on Slevologher." † Introduction to the History of Ireland, p. 124.

“ Christian æra, had their existence only in the dis-
“ tempered fancies of the bards of latter ages : and
“ in short , that every thing related in their domestic
“ annals concerning the Irish, prior to the mission of
“ St. Patrick, ought to be banished to the region of
“ fiction and romance.” This disbelief in the whole
of the antient History of Ireland, has become the fa-
shionable doctrine of other modern writers on Irish
affairs. Mr. Gordon, who published his History of Ire-
land only in 1806 *, taunts his countrymen with the
puerile vanity of deriving their origin from ancestors
of antient renown and polished manners ; referring
his readers, for the reputation of such fictions, to the
antiquities of Ledwich, and the strictures of Camp-
bell, and assuring them, that in the ages anterior to
the birth of Christ, the affairs of this country were ut-
terly unknown and inscrutable, and that was the result
of the most laborious and accurate research. Dr. Led-
wich has the honour of having improved upon the
modern pyrrhonism on Irish history, and is the first that
has brought it into the Christian æra †. “ Away,” says
he, “ with the phantoms invented by missionaries of the
“ 9th century in imitation of Mars, Minerva, and
“ Juno. *There never was such a man at all as St.*
“ *Patrick the Apostle of Ireland.*” And again, “ St.
“ Bridget is an imaginary Saint like Patrick.” Mr.
Gordon treads faithfully in the doubtful steps of
Dr. Ledwich, and informs his readers (though with-
out quoting any authority for his information) “ that

* Gordon's History of Ireland, vol. I. 13, p. 29.

† Ledwich's Antiquities. Ibid. 69.

“ the stories related of this apostle, are, doubtless,
 “ legendary tales, or theological romances, fabricated
 “ four centuries after their imaginary existence.”

General nature of this Dissertation.

Order, method, and relevancy, are the only roads that lead to satisfactory conclusion *. The present subject of discussion embraces not specific facts, circumstances, or dates. None, therefore, are specifically insisted upon. The Irish produce written records, documents, or metrical annals in their vernacular antient language, which, they say, ought to be credited as to their general substance. But to pretend, that they are not largely disfigured and disguised by what we call *fiction*, would be to divest them of one of the most questionless badges of their high antiquity. The scriptures alone of all antient annals are clear of the effects of ethnic mythology or poetic fancy †. The general substance of that antient history of Ireland, the whole of which it has too long been the British fashion to pronounce absolutely fictitious, and for the substantial credit of which the Irish people is still treated as a de-

* For this reason we studiously avoid all statements, arguments, and deductions, etymological, geographical, biographical, and (precisely) chronological. Such minute discussions are not called for by the nature of this work ; they may be referred to in several writers of learning and respectability. Even to review the whole contest upon these several heads, and to deduce an hypothesis from them, would exceed the limits of the intended publication.

† We should exceed our intent by attempting to reduce allegory to substance, to identify mythological heroes with real personages, to trace aberration from the true history of mankind to the ethnic fables, in which it was latterly disguised, to analyze symbol into instructive reality, and to winnow the flights of the recording bard from the fundamental theme of his song.

graded, arrogant, and suspected cast, is to the following purport.

About one hundred and forty years after the deluge, Ireland was discovered by one Adhwa, who had been sent from Asia to explore new countries by a grandson of Belus : he plucked some of the luxuriant grass as a specimen of the fertility of the soil, and returned to his master. After that, the island remained unoccupied for one hundred and forty years ; and, about three hundred years after the flood, one Partholan, originally a Scythian, and a descendant from Japhet in the 6th generation, sailed from Greece with his family and one thousand soldiers, and took possession of the island. They all died off, and left the island desolate of human beings for the space of 30 years. Afterwards different sets of emigrant adventurers occupied and peopled the island at different periods. About 1080 years after the deluge, and 1300 years before Christ, Niul, (the son of Phenius, a wise Scythian prince) who had married a daughter of Pharaoh, inhabited with his people a district given to him by his father-in-law on the Red Sea, when Moses led the Israelites out of Egypt. The descendants of that Pheneus, (more generally called Feniusa Farsa) were afterwards expelled by Pharaoh's successors on account of their ancestors having favoured the escape of the Israelites through the Red Sea. They then emigrated and settled in Spain, whence, under the command of Milesius, a colony of them sailed from Brigantia in Galicia to Ireland, gained the ascendancy over the inhabitants, and gave laws and a race of monarchs to the island. The Milesian dynasty

continued to govern Ireland, without interruption, till about the year 1168, when it ceased in the person of Roger O'Connor, and the sovereignty was assumed by our Henry II. Of this race of kings, the first 110 were Pagan, the rest Christian. St. Patrick was sent from Rome about the year 431, to preach the christian religion to the Irish in the reign of Loagaire, the first christian monarch, who received baptism from the hands of St. Patrick.

No improbability or impossibility in the substance of this account.

This simply is the sum of that history of Ireland, which by many *British*, and latterly by some *Irish* writers, is pronounced not only in part fabulous, but false and fictitious in the whole. Ere the discussion be entered into, it is necessary to premise, that by thus denuding the substantial body of the history from the allegory, fancy, and fiction, with which their minstrels had attempted to adorn or disguise it, no objection or difficulty to its truth can be raised out of the moral improbability, or physical impossibility of the facts recorded. The discredit of the facts must then rest upon the want of evidence of their existence. It is an obvious presumption, that the island did not remain many centuries uninhabited after the flood *. It is evident without proof, that a society, planted and formed in an island, must have emigrated from a country

* The Reverend Edward Davies, in his learned work on *Celtic Researches of the Origin, Tradition, and Language of the Antient Britons*, though he cannot fall in with the whole hypothesis of General Vallancy upon the antient history of Ireland, yet admits, (p. 104) that "Spain, and even Britain, were probably colonized by those, who were born within a century of the deluge."

then possessing some practical knowledge of navigation : and the emigrant colonists must have carried with them the traditional and written history, the religion, the institutions, the customs, the habits, the arts, the sciences, the doctrines, the prejudices, the errors, and the primitive language, which were familiar to them at the time of their emigration; all variations from which must have been accidental and gradual, from local circumstances occasioned more from adventitious intercourse, or foreign power, than internal change, innovation, or decay. Wherever separate communities or societies have existed, some specific form of civil government must have kept them together. Where a form of government coeval with the institution of a colonized community is known, its continuance is to be presumed, until evidence be produced of its change, decline, or extinction. “ Great “ is the folly of endeavouring to establish universal “ pyrrhonism in matters of history, because there are “ few histories without some lies, and none without “ some mistakes *.” Greater is the folly of denying the existence of persons, merely because fabulous and incredible tales have been reported of them.

Moral certainty, which is all that can be expected ^{History rests upon} in history, rests upon national tradition, antient me- ^{moral cer-} morials, probability, and credible testimony. Ocular ^{tainty.} demonstration is not required of the historian, and the sworn evidence of witnesses † may sometimes be justly

* Bol. on Hist. Let. iv.

† Witness the manuscript collection of sworn depositions (consisting of 32 large folio volumes), in the possession of the uni-

questioned. If, therefore, a given period of time comprise a series of probable events, such as the names,

versity of Dublin, concerning the outrages committed in the civil wars in Ireland, in the reign of Charles I. From these depositions, Temple assures us, "That hundreds of the ghosts of Protestants, that were drowned by the rebels at Portnadown, were seen in the river, bolt upright, and were heard to cry out for revenge on the rebels. One of the ghosts was seen with hands lifted up, and standing in that posture, from the 29th of December to the latter end of the following Lent." Dr. Maxwell (afterwards bishop of Kilmore), one of these deponents, *whose integrity and candour*, said Borlase, *none ever dared to question*, in his examination, in order to give all the credit he could to his co-jurors in the same cause, gives a lively description of the different postures and gestures of these apparitions, "as sometimes having been seen by day and night, walking upon the river, sometimes brandishing their naked swords, sometimes singing psalms, and at other times shrieking in a most fearful and hideous manner; adding, "that he never heard any man so much as doubt the truth thereof: but he obliged no man's faith, in regard he saw them not with his own eyes; otherwise he had as much certainty as could morally be required of such matter." (*Borl. Hist. App. 392.*)

Of another set of depositions from another party, Dr. Warner thus speaks (vol. ii Hist. of Reb. 146.) "But so many of the sayings, which are recorded in the manuscript collection of depositions in my custody, are so ridiculous or incredible, or contradictory to one another, as shew plainly, that they spoke what their own, or the different passions and sentiments of their leaders prompted: sometimes what came uppermost, or they thought would best serve or vindicate their cause; at other times what the reproaches of their prisoners provoked them to; not seldom what despair suggested; and, for the most part, as they were tutored by their priests. Upon the whole, there is no credit to be given to any thing, that was said by those people, which had not other evidence to confirm it." And of the before-mentioned thirty-two thick folio volumes of depositions, taken under two

families, and reigns of 197 monarchs, who successively ruled the country for the space of about 2000 years, and the name, family, or reign of any one of the whole race be not disproved or even called into doubt, then will there exist such proof of the historical truth of such succession, as to force the assent of any man who possesses the free use of a sound mind. The most fabulous legends, the wildest inventions, and even impossible feats of heroism or magic attributed to these different sovereigns, though specifically to be rejected, may strengthen the evidence of the existence of the personages, of whom they are narrated by their bards or phyllids, senachies, or historians, who, though faithful in pedigree and chronology, were encouraged in embellishing the feats of their favourite heroes to indulge the flights of their poetical genius. The etymology of many appellatives and proper names of the highest antiquity, bespeaks a reference to fabulous al-

separate commissions from the lords justices to the dean of Kilmore and seven other clergymen, Dr. Warner says (p. 295), "As a great stress hath been laid upon this collection in print and in conversation among the Protestants of that kingdom, and the whole evidence of the massacre turns upon it, I took a great deal of pains, and spent a great deal of time, in examining these books; and I am sorry to say, that they have been made the foundation of much more clamour and resentment, than can be warranted by truth and reason." It is to be fearfully apprehended, that much of the evidence, and many of the affidavits, procured and published after the late rebellion in 1798, will fall under the observation of Dr. Warner. (ib.) "What sort of evidence that is, may be easily learnt by those who are conversant with the common people of any country, especially when their imaginations are terrified with cruelties, and the passions heated by sufferings."

lusions to different monarchs, who find their regular places in the lists handed down of the Milesian dynasty by the most antient and accurate of these metrical annalists. The reality or total fiction of such a race of Irish monarchs, is the sole object of this Dissertation.

Mere denial
insufficient
to overset
history.

The mere negation of historical remote events, within the line of probability, cannot be set up against national tradition and antient records (though not contemporary with the facts recorded), especially by strangers to the language * in which these traditions have been long preserved. A distant fact can only be disproved by internal or external evidence. The assumed probability and possibility rebut the disproof from internal evidence. The external evidence to disprove must be at least equal, or rather of higher degree, than that upon which the authority of the fact

* Great weight is allowed to the observation, that no man ignorant of a language, in which an history is written, is properly fitted to write or observe upon it. Were particular historical facts the object of this Dissertation, the author, under a total ignorance of the Irish language, would never have attempted the arduous task of scrutinizing the truth, consistency, or probability of the general substance of the events recorded. But a continued list has been given by the native authors of 197 princes, varying in the duration of their respective reigns, from one to fifty years, and most of them killed in battle, during a space of 2000 years. Now, it is neither improbable, nor unnatural, that each of these kings, who always came to the throne when adult, and generally in a state of warfare, should upon an average have lived between eleven and twelve years. This allowance fills the utmost space of time given by their bards and chronologers from the arrival of Milesius to the deposition of Roger O'Connor, the last sovereign of the Milesian dynasty.

recorded stands. Where the veracity of an important point of history depends upon the belief of a whole nation for a score of centuries, founded upon their national traditions, preserved and transmitted in the best manner the nature of preservation and transmission will admit of, it requires a great weight of undeniable contrary evidence to overset an hypothesis built upon the uninterrupted belief of ages, minutely expressed in a vernacular tongue now understood by the existing natives, as it was by all their intermediate ancestors, up to the several epochs, at which the events are recorded respectively to have taken place.

The British Pyrrhonites in matter of Irish history pretend not to deny, that the island was inhabited 1300 years before the christian æra* ; neither do they affect to insinuate, that the population ever ceased or was suspended from that time downwards. None of them have denied to these early inhabitants of the island some language, in which they conversed with each other, and some form of government, by which they were ruled ; but they think it sufficient to raise a general system of Pyrrhonism, upon the authority of Cambden and Ware†, who shelter their own ignorance upon these matters under a general observation of Livy, that *things, which at a great distance are scarce discernible, are obscured by their great anti-*

Nothing commands credit without some external evidence.

* This was at the time, about which the children of Israel did evil in the sight of the Lord, and were delivered into the hands of Jabin, king of Canaan. (Jud. iv.)

† Ware, Ant. 5.

quity. Only one deduction can be fairly drawn from such generalities, and from the assertions of those, who profess themselves strangers to the country, language, and history: nothing is to be credited without the most guarded caution to corroborate the narrative with external evidence. This act of historical justice to the Irish nation is the object of the present investigation.

Facility of
tradition.

A Jove principium was the allegorical and religious principle of bards and philosophers of old. To scrutinize, argue, and conclude upon matters of great antiquity, it becomes necessary to look into the earliest times, and the oldest records of historical information. From these are to be deduced principles, rather than the evidence of particular facts. Assuming the superior antiquity of the Mosaic narrative of the first days of man, without resting, for the present purpose, on its divine inspiration, which Jews and Christians equally admit, it is a general concession, that Adam came out of the hands of his Maker in a more perfect state of mind and body, than any of his descendants ever attained. It is clear he was gifted with the faculty of speech; and that a language was infused into him, in which he conversed with Eve and his children; and that this was the original medium, through which he communicated his ideas, perceptions, and recollections to his descendants, as they did to their successive posterity. Tradition, consequently, was the original mode of transmitting to future generations the knowledge of past events. Waving the question, whether writing were of ante-diluvian insti-

tution*, the credit of tradition will be greatly enhanced by reflecting on the paucity of the links, by which the chain is carried through a vast expanse of time. By the generally received chronology, there intervened 1656 years between the creation of man and the deluge: thence to the vocation of Abraham about 451 years, making altogether 2107 years. According to the scriptural accounts, Abraham was threescore years of age when Noah died; Noah was 500 years cotemporary with Methusalem, and Methusalem lived 241 years with Adam. Supposing, then, that the invention of letters should be allowed so early a date even as the time of Abraham, yet, by the duration of these patriarchs' lives, there are but two intermediate links, viz. Methusalem and Noah, between Abraham and our first parent. Thus, through the medium of two individuals, was all that portion of the inspired knowledge and improved experience of Adam during a life of 930 years, which he chose or intended to transmit to his descendants, brought down by tradition to Abraham, comprising a space of above 2000 years.

It is not to be imagined, that the tradition of these early periods was confined to this line of patriarchs. Tradition not confined to one line of the patriarchs. Mankind was soon multiplied; and in the course of

* Mr. Astle, who has discussed the subject of ancient letters with consummate ability, in the judgment of a very learned adept of the old Celtic language and dialects, (Davies, 240.) says, after having diligently weighed the opinions and authorities of his predecessors, *it might be improper to assert, that letters were unknown before the deluge recorded by Moses.* (p. 46.) There will be future occasion of referring to the origin of writing.

three centuries, which was not a third of Adam's life, is supposed to have nearly covered the face of the earth. All the cotemporary inhabitants of the globe probably received the same traditions, were gifted with the like physical powers, and enjoyed upon the average an equal degree of longevity. There is no other written record of these early times, to which we can look up with full confidence, except the books of Moses. His history both ante-diluvian and post-diluvian, is a mere epitome confined, as it were, to the stock of Noah's son Shem, from which Abraham sprang; and thence extending to that chain of persons and transactions, which terminated in the birth of the promised Messiah. It was not the object of the sacred penman to record, in his post-diluvian account, the particular histories of the other generations of mankind, which, after the miraculous confusion of the human tongue at Babel, unquestionably had their respective national languages, establishments, institutions, laws, traditions, and histories, all varying in quality, duration, and authenticity, according to the progress of innovation and depravity amongst them. The sacred text has merely enumerated the generations of the three sons of Noah, unto whom sons were born, after the flood, and who became the fathers and founders of the different nations wherein they settled, without giving the chronology or topography of any of them. The Irish make their descent from Japhet*.

* Gen. x. These words give great plausibility to the comments of St. Augustine, Origen, and some modern commentators, particularly Tirinus, 105, that the common language of man was

“ The sons of Japheth, Gomer, and Magog, and Madai, and Javan, and Tubal, and Meshech, and Tiras. And the sons of Gomer, Ashkenaz, and Riphath, and Togarmah. And the sons of Javan ; Elisha and Tarshesh, Kittim and Dodamim. By these were the isles of the Gentiles divided in their lands : every one after his tongue, after their families in their nations.”

This division or allotment of the isles of the Gentiles could not mean the gradual progress of the families according to their increase, which would have been a work of time, and could not be termed a division; but it must have been a general settlement and distribution amongst the co-existing grand and great-grand children of Noah, by the sanction of these post-diluvian fathers of the human race ; for Noah lived 350 years after the flood : and that this division of the earth took place after the erection of the tower at Babel, is evident from the words, *every one after his own tongue*.

In order to open the facility of proof on one hand, and meet some scrupulous objections on the other, it may not be improper to remark, that the abbreviation of the days of man was not in any manner immediately connected with the deluge. For the sacred penman,

split into fifty-five different tongues, there being, according to Cornelius a Lapide, so many descendants of Noah, mentioned in the 10th chapter of Genesis, who are there called the families of Noah, according to their people and nations ; and by these were the nations divided on the earth after the flood. But that Heber, the progenitor of Abraham, retained the original or primitive language of man, whence it was afterwards called Hebrew.

in tracing the genealogy of Abraham from Shem, says, that he was 100 years old when he begat Arphaxad, two years after the flood; and that Shem lived after that 500 years, and begat sons and daughters; that Arphaxad, at the age of thirty-five, begat Sale, and lived 803 years after, and continued to beget sons and daughters; and that Sale, after having begotten Heber at the age of thirty, survived 403 years. The continuance of the genealogy of Abraham shews, that notwithstanding the great longevity of man in those days, he was in virile maturity before thirty; and each of them lived from two to five centuries, begetting sons and daughters, although their particular genealogies be no further noticed by the sacred penman. Considering then, that in the days of Abraham so many other human individuals, his cotemporaries, had probably received the same traditions from their immediate parents, who had lived above two centuries with Noah, the wonder is, not that any, but that so few traces of the history of each of these fifty-five families of Noah, exclusive of that of Heber, are to be met with. They must have been continued for a great length of time in their respective institutions and governments; for their variations and changes, (from the universal lapse of mankind into depravity they were never for the better,) their suspension and final extinctions must have been gradual, though irregularly, occasioned by local circumstances.

Confusion
of the
human
tongue at
Babel.

Reflection upon the sacred text will teach us, that the division of the earth followed very close upon the confusion of the human tongue at Babel, and was intimately connected with, or arose wholly out of it,

For, in the scriptural stile, Almighty God is introduced as conversing with man, and is made to say, And the Lord came down to see the city and the tower, which the children of Adam were building, and he said: behold it is one people, and all have one tongue: and then for preventing their accomplishing their presumptuous designs of building a tower up to heaven, their tongues were confounded, so that they should not understand one another's speech, and so the Lord scattered them abroad from thence upon the face of the earth.

This allotment, or apportionment of the earth amongst the heads of the then second and third generations of Noah, appears to have been, not only subsequent in time to the confusion of the human tongue, but consequent to it as to effect. For as it pleased God to defeat an arrogant or presumptuous^{ness} resolution of man before their separation, which they foresaw must necessarily soon follow*, it is no vain assumption, but a necessary conclusion, that the scattering or distribution of these generations, *every one after his tongue after their families*, must have been immediately, or, at least, soon after each family had a separate tongue. This multiplication of languages happened, according to the more generally received opinion, about 140 years after the deluge. Noah survived the deluge 350 years, when he died in the

* Gen. xi. 4. And they said, go to, come let us build us a city and a tower, whose top may reach into heaven: and let us make us a name lest we be scattered abroad upon the face of the whole earth.

850th year of his age; and as Abraham, though the * 11th generation from Noah, was born 292 years after the flood, yet did he live contemporary with his direct progenitor, the ante-diluvian patriarch, fifty-eight years, with whom, considering the select vocation of Abraham to be the father of the faithful, it is to be presumed he often conversed, and received knowledge and instruction concerning the state of the ante-diluvian world, and of the more interesting events, through the ten generations from Adam down to the times of Abraham himself.

Longevity
no patriarchal
privilege.

The longevity of the post-diluvian patriarchs was not confined to the heads of the particular families or sects, whose ages the sacred penman has recorded. There is no suggestion in the sacred text, that this was a special privilege of a particular lineage. The abbreviation of the days of man was gradual, though general; and innumerable were the sources, through which the tradition of ancient times was handed down from cotemporary generations through the several parts of the inhabited world.

Links of
tradition
between
Adam and
Moses.

The mind, by reflection, familiarizes with the practicability of tradition, in reckoning the few links of the chain, which connect the twenty-five centuries, that intervened between Adam and Moses, who was born 805 years after the flood. For as two persons, Methusalem and Noah, sufficed to transmit the traditions of Adam to Abraham, so four persons sufficed to carry it on to Moses, who committed to writing so much of the history of mankind, as was necessary to illustrate

* According to the generation given by St. Luke, c. iii.

that series of events, which terminated in the establishment of the order of grace. Isaac was seventy-four years of age at the death of Abraham : Jacob was 119 when his father Isaac died. Levi, the grandfather of Moses, had attained threescore before the death of Jacob ; Amram, the father of Moses, had attained the age of thirty-six when Levi died ; and Moses lost his father Amram after he had arrived at the mature age of fifty-eight years. Barring, then, all the collateral sources of cotemporary transmission, seven individuals, according to the sacred record of Genesis, have in fact sufficed to connect the chain of tradition for about 2500 years between Adam and Moses.

These premises admitted, it follows, that general national traditions of this early period command a deference, which latter traditions, more likely to have been disguised by pagan mythology, or exaggerated by the imagery and fancies of ancient bards, cannot raise claim to. It is no uncommon, though a most unwarrantable assumption, that beside the scriptural authority, credit can be allowed to no history before the writings of the Greeks and Romans. The prejudices of classical education, in favour of the works of these two polished nations of antiquity, have thrown a general discredit upon the pretensions of every people, which sets up a claim to more ancient and authentic annals, than any handed down to posterity from Greece or Rome. Their arrogance in barbarizing all other nations than themselves, has unaccountably operated through every age to fix the prejudice of the latest posterity. Yet nothing will

add higher honor to the present age, than to refute this imposing error of two score centuries. Where moral incongruity, where physical impossibility, where metaphysical inconsistency interfere not, there the question is open to reason, and her voice fairly put forth will ultimately be heard.

Consequence of the Mosaic æra to the authority of the Irish annals:

The Mosaic æra is a period of more than common interest and importance to the enquiry into the substantial truth, or total fiction of the ancient history of Ireland. It fixes a time, before which the use of letters was known. It fixes the place, in which the progenitors of the Milesian race then resided. It traces the origin of the language and institutions, which they brought with them into Ireland. It clears of total fiction the arrival of that colony, whence sprung the race of monarchs, who successively ruled it down to its invasion by our second Henry. The object of our research is, whether there be that moral certainty of the existence and continuance of the Milesian race of sovereigns in Ireland, which commands rational belief. This involves not the enquiry into the immediate origin of the inhabitants, which the colony found on their arrival. That event the Irish annalists fix at the year of the world 2737, and 1300 years before the christian æra.

Noah probably knew the state of the whole ante-diluvian population.

Whether Ireland were, as its annals say, inhabited before the flood, we refrain from considering. But it is obvious to remark, that if it were, the fact was in all human probability known to Noah and his sons, when they entered the ark: and if known, would have been communicated to their co-tempora-

ries; and by them have been transmitted down to their descendants.* There is no physical reason why Ireland should not have been inhabited before the flood. It no where appears to have been a post-diluvian discovery that Ireland existed. On the contrary, the allotment of the isles of the Gentiles to Japhet, appears to have been the effect of ante-diluvian knowledge. Many and various relicts of former habitations must, in the supposition of its ante-diluvian population, have remained visible after the waters had subsided: it might consequently have appeared to the first post-diluvian colonists, that the island had been formerly inhabited. These appearances would verify the tradition, which they must have brought with them from the mother country: Nor can it indeed be presumed, that an island so distant from Asia, which was the cradle of the human race, should in such early times have been a chance discovery of adventurers and explorers of lands unknown.

It appears essential to the intellectual perfection, in which God created Adam, that his knowledge should have extended beyond his eye sight; that he should have possessed full and correct geographical knowledge of that earth, which the Lord had created for him and his posterity. The gradual occupation of the globe by our ante-diluvian ancestors could not have been the chance wandering of the parents or

Mere original perfection of Adam in mind and body.

* The observation of Mr. Davies, which has been before referred to, is pointedly relevant to this hypothesis. Spain, and even Britain, were probably colonized by those who were born within a century of the deluge.

children as their curiosity or conveniency prompted, but was probably effected by the common parents allotting different and distant regions to the heads of different families, as his inspired knowledge suggested for the more speedily peopling the whole surface of the globe.

How knowledge transmitted from Adam.

It must be presumed, that the knowledge, which Adam had received by divine inspiration, was carefully communicated to his children; that by them it was transmitted to their successive posterity; that it was concentrated in Noah and his sons; that after the deluge it became in like manner diffused through, and transmitted by their respective descendants to future and remote generations. The Irish annals scarcely disagree from the Mosaic accounts of the space of time, which intervened between the deluge and the confusion of tongues, viz. 145 years.*

* The short and simple account given of this wonderful period, by the sacred penman, is beyond example comprehensive and instructive. Gen. xi. v. 6. "And the Lord said; Behold the people is one, and they have all one language: and this they begin to do: and now nothing will be restrained from them, which they have imagined to do. Go to, let us go down, and there confound their language, that they may not understand one another's speech: and so the Lord scattered them abroad from thence *upon the face of all the earth*: and they left off to build the city. Therefore is the name of it called *Babel*, because the Lord did there confound the language of all the earth, and from thence did the Lord scatter them abroad upon the face of *all the earth*." What words could more distinctly connect the scattering *over all the earth*, with the confusion of the one or common language. This seems not to import an inspiration of as many new languages, as there were human individuals then existing, which would have

If we particularize the general report of the sacred text, and if by dropping the imposing glare and awe of great antiquity, we bring the circumstances within the familiar judgment of our daily conceptions, it will clearly appear, that this allotment or distribution of *all the earth* amongst certain families could only have been made by those, who claimed the paramount right of ownership over the whole: these were Noah and his three sons, upon whom by divine preservation from the deluge, the proprietorship of the restored earth naturally devolved. As the hand of providence had with a special and supernatural manner interposed to give to each family their own tongue, or a new dialect, these patriarchs, perceiving their descendants thus separated by language into distinct communities, judged it wise and necessary to allot them separate portions of the earth, in which to live apart from each other, and to preserve them from confusion, strife, and contention for property. As this

rendered language perfectly useless for all the purposes of social intercourse. Nor was it, as it seems, an extinction of the original tongue, but such a modification or dialect of it, as to render it immediately unintelligible to the retainers of the old, or the acquirers of the different new dialects: this only can be termed *a confusion of the language*: and as the sacred text enumerates fifty five of the descendants of Noah, amongst whom the division of the whole earth was then made, *every one after his tongue, after their families in their nation*, it appears reasonable, that as many new dialects or modifications of the original tongue, were miraculously effected, as there were distinct families, amongst which the earth was to be allotted or divided, otherwise each family could not have had its several respective tongue.

settlement was an allotment or distribution (or according to the frequently repeated scriptural phrase, a scattering over) *of all the earth*, it necessarily follows, that those, who managed or directed such allotments or distribution, must have possessed a geographical knowledge of the earth, and particularly of the extent, nature, soil, situation, boundaries, and climate of the different nations or divisions, into which the ante-diluvian population of the globe had ramified. Allowing this general settlement *of all the earth* amongst a given number of the descendants of Noah, not to have been a mere lottery or scramble, but an apportionment by knowledge, judgment, and authority, it will follow, that the islands were not appointed to those, who knew or possessed not the art of navigation.

First population of the islands.

It must be presumed, that the islands were immediately occupied by those, to whom they were allotted. The different persons, amongst whom the distribution of the earth was made, then resided in Asia ; thence of course were the first post-diluvian emigrations into the isles of the Gentiles. Any vessels then arriving in the Atlantic, would naturally fall upon Ireland sooner than upon Great Britain, which, barring the authority of the Irish annals, renders it probable, that Ireland was peopled before England. There is no other disproof of this assertion, than the suggestion or argument of the Pyrrhonites in matter of Irish history, that the inhabitants of Gaul seeing Britain from the headlands of the Gallic Menapii (the districts of Calais and Bologne), passed over in boats or rafts,

and when they had peopled and cultivated this island, and travelled so far north west, as to arrive at that promontory of Scotland nearest to Ireland, (*Port Patrick*, whence Ireland in a fair day may be easily seen,) they thence, in like manner, at a distant period, traversed this passage which was shorter. This must have happened after a long space of time, which would be requisite for the first emigrants from Gaul to people, occupy, and cultivate the southern part of this island; for it is to be presumed, that the more northern position, the less fertile soil, and the worse climate would not have attracted these early settlers to the extremities of the inferior parts of the island, till the thickness of population, and the insufficiency of the soil to answer their wants, drove out the needy and young adventurers in search of new places of residence.

As the authenticity of that portion only of the ancient history of Ireland falls under our investigation, which traces the origin and descent of the Milesian race of sovereigns; and the Irish annals inform us, that upon their arrival in the island, about thirteen hundred years before the birth of Christ, they found it peopled and cultivated, and that conversation and treaties passed between the new adventurers, and the then natives of the soil without interpreters, there appears sufficient probability, that the first post-diluvian possessors of the island had emigrated from the same race or family, (and, therefore, had a common language) as the adventurous colony of Milesius. As far as the Irish annalists agree with the inspired writer of

Milesian
annals about
1300 years
A. C.

Genesis, their veracity will not be questioned, whether the annals were the fabrication of the Monkish impostors of the ninth century, according to the disciples of modern Pyrrhonism, or the genuine documents of the old phylleas or seneachies. Their account of the first adventurers of the Milesian colonies and the native settlers destroys not itself by any inconsistency or intrinsic evidence, if there be a probability of a colony of the same race of men with the Milesian, having settled before them in that island. Looking to the general substance of truth, we pretend not fastidiously to adhere to particular dates, names, places, or circumstances.

Coincidence
of the ante-
milesian an-
nals, with
Josephus.

We have observed that the annalists say, that about an hundred and forty years after the deluge, Adhualanded in Ireland, and returned to the person who sent him, who was a grandson of Belus: and that afterwards different adventurers sailed to, and occupied the island. We believe from the sacred text, that about an hundred and forty years after the deluge, the common language of man was confused on the plains of Shinar, that the isles of the Gentiles were divided by or amongst the sons of Japhet, and that the Lord scattered them from that place, (viz. the Vale Shinar in Usia, where Babylon stood,) abroad upon the face of all the earth; that the beginning of Nemrod's kingdom was Babylon. In confirmation of the consistency of the Irish ante-milesian annals, comes in the authority of Joseph *, the Jew, who has left us a more explicit

* Ant. c. vi. However this author may, in compliment to the Roman emperor, have endeavoured to loosen the credit of some

account of this very early age of man, than that of Moses. "From that time forward (by reason of the diversity of tongues) they dispersed themselves into divers countries, and planted colonies in all places; and occupied those places, whither either God, or their good fortune, had conducted them; so that, both the sea coasts, and the middle land, were replenished with inhabitants. Some there were also who, passing the sea in ships and vessels, first peopled the islands." If Ireland then, one of the largest islands of Europe, were peopled soon after the diversity of tongues, there can be no inconsistency or repugnance in their annalists reporting, at the distance of some centuries, the intercourse, which the latter had with the descendants of the former adventurers to that island. Having, as it is hoped, cleared the Milesian story of this preliminary charge of inconsistency, by reason of its reference to an earlier population, we proceed to examine the authenticity of the general substance of the annals themselves.

It would exceed the intent of this Dissertation, to pass in review the several judgments of the historical critics, who have entered the lists with strong pretensions to the palm. Of the whole sceptic tribe, Dr.

*Objections
of the Pyrrhonites.*

of some of the miracles of the Old Testament, we must consider whatever additional circumstances he recounts of the early founders of nations, which illustrate rather than contradict the sacred text, to have been the genuine tradition of the Jewish nation at that time; and which he would not have published, unless he had given credit to them himself. He was a man of erudition, criticism eloquence and policy.

Ledwich appears prominently conspicuous for his assurance, great contempt and coarse abuse of his antagonists. His opposition, like that of his leaders and followers, rests upon general declamation. Such claims of antiquity and pretensions to authenticity are but specious delusions and vagaries of the human mind; and "wherever they are retained, that people " may be pronounced credulous and ignorant *." General assertion is to be denied, not answered. The more especially, when the whole system of this pyrrhonism is founded upon a general *dictum* of a stranger both to their language and country †. "Nennius' judgment of this fiction," say the sceptics, "is decisive, when he declares, that "there was no sure history of the origin of the Irish." "*Nulla tamen certa historia originis Scotorum reperitur.*" This is a mere declaration, that he knew of no authentic written history, which gave

* Led. Ant. p. 2.

† Nen. p. 102. Ed. Bert. It could hardly be unknown to Dr. Ledwich, that this insertion is supposed to be an interpolation, and as such is comprised in brackets by Mr. Bertram, the learned editor of Nennius. The impartial reader will consider that Nennius, who was no Irishman, and wrote about the year 858; i. e. 950 years ago, must have had better grounds than the fictions of monks, and such idle dreamers, to repeat three several times in his work the positive fact, that Ireland was peopled by a colony from Spain, c. 6. *Novissimè venerunt Scoti a partibus Hispaniæ ad Hyberniam. Et postea venerunt tres filii cujusdam militis Hispaniæ cum Chaulis. Venerunt paulatim a partibus Hispaniæ et tenuerunt regiones plurimas.* He wrote some hundred years before Gerald Barry had traduced the Irish nation, and when Ireland, being an independent kingdom, held out no temptation to a British writer to suppress or disguise the truth of his history.

an account of their origin; it is no denial that proofs or documents of it existed. Supposing, however, that Nennius, in the year 858, when he was supposed to have completed his work, which he brings no lower than Vortigern, A.D. 473, knew of no history of Ireland then written, does it follow that none could, or ever would be written? More plausibly might it be inferred, that every thing which Nennius wrote about the Britons was mere fiction, because in the same work he says, that in his time the Britons had not one writer of their history, because they were then illiterate, and even the learned men of their island committed not the remembrance of events to books*. Ere, however, we enter upon the immediate defence of the antient history of the Irish, it will not be foreign from the purpose to remark, that Dr. Ledwich has not scrupled to admit that † “Ireland, in the 6th and succeeding centuries, possessed a literary reputation, which is proved by indisputable evidence.”

The first substantial fact to be proved in this controversy is, that the Milesian colonists were descended from Magog, one of the seven sons of Japhet, mentioned by Moses, although the sacred annalist have not given us the name of any one of his sons, as he did the sons of some of his brothers; and that Magog

Descendants of Japhet not mentioned in Scripture.

* *Quia nullam peritiam habuerunt, neque ullam commemorationem posuerunt in libris doctores illius insule Eritanniz. Nen. Hist. apud Bertram, Haunæ 1757.* He being our first British historian, might thus have as effectually overset the whole substance of English history.

† Led. Ant. 2.

and his sons were the founders of the Scythian nation*. This position of the Irish annalists is most pointedly confirmed by the words of the Jewish historian, which place so much of it out of the imputation of fiction, as brings the Scythians from Magog†. In speaking of the peopling of the world after the diversity of tongues and the consequent apportionment of the earth amongst the grand-children and great-grand-children of Noah, he says that Magog established a colony, and *that the people were from him called Magogians, and by themselves Scythians.*

Phœnicians
originally
of Scythian
origin.
Phœnius or
Fenius
Farsa.

The chronologers, bards, or minstrels of Ireland have sometimes called their ancestors *Pæni, Phæni, or Phœnicians*, which may, at the first blush, import a contradiction. Some authors have enumerated fifty different settlements, or subdivisions, or colonies of the

* From the rapid encrease of population in the first ages after the deluge, it is evident, that Moses in his account of the genealogy of some of Noah's descendants has omitted to mention far the greater number of them in the third and fourth degrees. More circumstances are evidently omitted, than recorded by the sacred penman. It follows not, that facts omitted by Moses could not be preserved and handed down to posterity by other means. The Irish annalist gives the names of three sons of Magog, viz. Baath, Jobath, and Fathoeta; and Keating, p. 29, gives these names from the book of Invasions, "upon whose authority," says he, "we may depend; for the whole account is faithfully collected and transcribed from the most valuable and authentic chronicles of the Irish affairs, particularly from that choice volume, called the book of *Dhroma Sneachta*, or the White book, that was written before St. Patrick first arrived in Ireland to propagate christianity in that country."

† Jos. L. i. c. vii.

great Scythian nation or tribe*. They occasionally assumed this denomination from Fenius, or Feniusa Farsa, a Scythian prince, the grandson of Magog, whom they represent as a most wise, virtuous, and particularly learned prince, that established seminaries for the instruction of youth in the Hebrew and other languages, and to whom they attribute the invention of letters†.

His son Niul, during his father's life, went into Egypt, where he married a daughter of Pharaoh, who gave him a district on the borders of the Red Sea, and that Niul rendered the Israelites great services, by supplying them with provisions, when they were led through the Red Sea from Caperchiroth. Upon

Niul settled on the Red Sea when Moses passed it.

* Such was the consequence of the Scythian establishment, that the period of time between the flood and the commencement of the Grecian history, was called the Scythian age. It continued down to the time of the Roman emperors to be considered a high honour to trace descent from them; as appears by the eulogy, which Justin made of them. He wrote under Antoninus Pius, and as a Roman, was little disposed to commend those, whom it was the arrogant fashion of that nation to deem barbarians. "The Scythians themselves always remained either free from the attacks of foreign-powers, or unsubdued by them; they drove Darius the Persian monarch out of Scythia by an ignominious flight. They killed Cyrus and his whole army. They fought with like success against Zopyron, one of Alexander's generals, and destroyed him and all his forces. They had heard indeed of the arms of the Romans, but had never felt them."

† Porphyry according to Eusebius makes Sanchoniatho writing his Phœnician history 800 years before the siege of Troy. (*De Prep. Evang. L. x. c. 3.*) So inaccurate was this heathen Greek in his chronology.

Niul's expressing his apprehension * of the vengeance of his father-in-law, Moses offered him a settlement with his own people in the land, to which he was leading them. The offer was declined; but by the advice of Moses, the annalists tell us, that Niul seized some vessels then lying off the harbour, and moved lower down the Red Sea with the principal part of his family, until the fate of Pharao and his host became known. He then returned home, where he died respected both by the Egyptians and strangers. His grandson Sru was afterwards forced to flee from that territory by a descendant of Pharao, who threatened to revenge himself upon these settlers for their ancestors having favoured the escape of his enemies, and been accessory to the fatal destruction of the host of Egypt. They escaped his vengeance by flight†, and returned

* Herodotus informs us, that the Phœnicians, who furnished Xerxes with 300 vessels, had a tradition, that their ancestors had formerly inhabited the coasts of the Red Sea, l. vii. c. 89.

† Sir Lawrence Parsons in his *Defence of the ancient History of Ireland*, has thus accounted for the occasional denomination of *Phæni*, *Pœni*, or *Phœnicians*, applied by the Irish annalist to the Milesian colony. (p. 194.) "The Greeks say, that there was a king of that country who was called Phœnix, the Irish Phœnius; the one, that from him the people were called Phœnicians, and the Carthagenians, Pœni; the other, that from him they were called Pheni. In fine, the Irish say, that they emigrated in the time of Phenius, which, according to the Irish history, was two generations before Moses; consequently, it was about the time of, or some time after their departure, that the country was called Phœnicia, according to every conjecture concerning the origin of that name. And therefore, in their ancient records, they call their country and themselves by their antient appellation, Scythia and Scythians. Pheni is an appellation more rarely used by them, as

to their native country, where they remained seven years. They then quitted it on account of dissensions; and after some adventures, they settled in an island called Guthia, where they resided near three centuries. They afterwards established a colony on the coast of Spain, and thence emigrated to Ireland.

This episode, although preceding the date of the Milesian colony's arrival in Ireland, from which period our researches commence, is pointed at for the purpose of establishing the fundamental credit of the ancient Irish history, and to refute the suggestions and assertions of the modern Pyrrhonites, that every thing related in their domestic annals concerning the Irish prior to the mission of St. Patrick*, ought to be banished to the region of fiction and romance. This account of the Irish phillids, bards, or chroniclers, falls in precisely with the early traditions of the

Reason of
the episode
about Ca-
perchiroth.

if, according to their own accounts, it had been a name but just imposed, as they were leaving the country, and to which they had not been habituated. And here it is observable, how this circumstance of their persevering in calling their ancestors by their ancient name of Scythians, and mentioning, that just at the time of their departure, that of Pheni was first given, coincides with their account of the great antiquity of their migration; and how the state of their arts and religion corresponds with this also. Whereas, if it was the fabricated tale of half-learned men of the fifth or sixth centuries, would they not have made the name of the country invariably Phœnicia? and of the people Phœnicians? Their accounts may be inaccurate, but they have no appearance of being feigned."

* Macp. *ubi supra*. The modern disciples have improved upon their masters in Pyrrhonism. This is an evident admission by Macpherson, both of the existence and mission of St. Patrick, of which notice will be taken hereafter in examining Dr. Ledwich's denial of both.

Jews. We read in one of their most respectable Rabbies, Simeon, who wrote 200 years before the christian æra, that “ because these Canaan * ships gave Israel of their provisions, God would not destroy their ships, but with an east wind carried them far down the Red Sea.” The concordance of the Irish account, with that of the inspired writer of Genesis, cannot be set up as evidence of the fiction of the former upon any other ground, than that of plagiarism ; and even that charge brought home to them, would, to the extent of the charge, clear their annals of falsity, though it would deprive them of the claim of original and genuine records, which the Irish insist upon.

Pihachiroth and Caperchiroth.

By the researches of the truly learned and unbiassed Vallancey it appears, that the *Pihachiroth* of scripture, from before which place the Israelites passed the Red

* At this period of early population, emigrant colonies or settlers in new or strange nations were usually called, as they were known by their language. These settlers on the Red Sea under Niul, the son of Pheneus, came from what then was called Chanaan, and spoke the language there used; which afterwards, when a part of that country took the name of Phœnicia, from Phœnius, or Feniusa Farsa, the Scythian Solon, the language came to be called the Phœnician, more especially after the Israelites had divided the land of promise amongst themselves, and introduced with them their own native Hebrew tongue, of which the Cannanean was one of the diversified dialects, or family changes of tongue, as before observed. *La langue de Chanaan : c'est à dire, la langue Channanéenne ou des Chananéens, est celle que nous nommons plus ordinairement la langue Phœnicienne.* Dict de Trevoux, verbo Chanaan.

Sea*, is precisely the same place, to which the Irish bards have given another appellation, namely, *Caperchiroth*. The original name of the place, whence Moses led the Israelites through the Red Sea, was *Chiroth*, and by the addition of *piha* or *pi*, which means *mouth* in the Hebrew and other oriental languages, according to St. Jerome and Eusebius, the word *Pihachiroth* means the mouth or port of *Chiroth*; whereas, in the Phœnician, Chaldee, and other oriental languages, *caper* is a town, village, or settlement, and *Caperchiroth* will then mean the town of *Chiroth*†, which infers no other difference, than if a modern writer, meaning the same place, should refer sometimes to the port, and at others to the town of *Dover*. Now, had this account been fabricated after the introduction of christianity amongst the Irish by the monks and other such dreamers, the fair deduction would be, in the first place, that these early christians would, in case they had copied from scripture, have given the exact scriptural name, or otherwise they ex-

* Turn and encamp before Pihachiroth, between Migdol and the sea, Exod. xiv. 2. And they departed before Pihachiroth, and passed through the midst of the sea. Numb. xxxiii. 8.

† Chiroth, I am informed by persons conversant in the Hebrew language, means an open space; well, therefore, does it describe the place, in which 600,000 men, besides women and children, and proportionate flocks and herds of cattle, could encamp. The learned authors of the *Trevoux* have observed a very close analogy between the Hebrew and Phœnician tongue: *comme nous le voyons par tous les noms qui sont dans l'écriture, & par les mots Puniques que St. Augustin & les autres anciens nous ont conservés. Ubi supra Gord. p. 18.*

posed the credit of their own fabrications ; or that they were not so versed in the oriental languages, as to give to their forgeries this artful semblance of originality by an apparent variation from, and a substantial adherence to truth*.

How the
veracity of
Irish annals
proveable.

The substantial veracity of the landing of a Phœnician colony in Ireland about this time can only be proved or disproved by external or internal evidence ; either from the records or documents of other countries, or of the Irish. It cannot be disproved by any Phœnician records, because none have reached these latter times of more curious and scientific research. The ravages of time, waste, and barbarism, have probably long entombed all written monuments of Phœnician, Carthaginian, and early Spanish and Moorish history. The Greeks knew little of their own history for several centuries after the Milesian period : the Romans still less of other nations, which they imitated the Greeks in calling barbarians. Julius Cæsar, after a lapse of above eleven centuries, is the first Roman who gives any account of either of the sister islands. No other western nations appear at that time to have had or retained the use of letters for any length of time, so as to have transmitted to posterity any written monument of their remote ancestors.

The higher
the anti-
quity, the
greater the
probability
of truth.

In researches of this nature, it is an axiom, that the higher we run into antiquity, the more surely do we discover simplicity and truth. Noah and his sons were the depositaries of the general history of the pri-

* Val. Col. vol. iv. p. 11. p. 275.

primitive or ante-diluvian world, and of all the acquired knowledge, which could be useful to posterity. In their longevity they had the advantage of observation and experience; and we learn from the book of Job*, that even the oldest, and, perhaps, the most accomplished of the then existing generation, esteemed it their greatest wisdom to learn and retain the traditional knowledge of their ancestors, who had lived many days upon earth. The interlocutors, in this ancient dialogue, manifestly refer to some of the patriarchs then living, who had seen that length of days, which they were sensible no future generation would attain. "For enquire, I pray thee, of the former age (or generation), and prepare thyself for the search of their fathers (for we are but of yesterday, and know nothing, seeing our days on earth are as a shadow). Shall they not teach thee, and tell thee, and utter words out of their hearts?" c. viii. And "I will shew thee, hear me, and that which I have seen I will declare, which wise men have told me from their fathers (and have not hid it), unto whom alone the earth was given." If, then, the real or supposed predecessors of Moses thought so humbly of their own experience and knowledge, by reason of the abbreviation of the days of man upon earth, the summit of their pretensions being to retain what they had received from their longeval ancestors, does it not evidently follow, that the closer any institutions of go-

* Either the book of Job was written long before the days of Moses, or it was then written to represent scenes of a date much before his time.

vernment and religion can be traced up to the patriarchal age, the more pure the source ; and that the falling off from this primeval simplicity and truth was in proportion to the depravity of mankind, which terminated at different periods, in idolatry and all its consequent fictions and corruptions.

Pretensions
to high an-
tiquity fa-
vour its
claim.

The exclusive claim, which Ireland sets up to the preservation of any historical monuments of her remote history, rather goes to prove, than disprove their genuine originality. The first presumption of a claim is, that it can be supported : we are enquiring into the manner, in which this can be substantiated.

Language
the pedigree
of nations.

Dr. Johnson says, language is the pedigree of nations ; and General Vallancey quotes the learned Ihre for insisting, “ that language is to be preferred even to the annals of remote time to prove the origin of a people, particularly of a migrating people.” It would be presumptuous to attempt any thing like a philological disquisition into the origin and nature of a language without a competent knowledge of it. It must be admitted, that there does, at this hour, exist a language, called the Irish, in which very ancient poems and annals are written, which is perfectly intelligible to the natives, and other professed adepts * in it. That the Irish has close affinity with the Scotch Erse, or Gaelic language, and some, though more remote, analogy to the Welsh and Cornish, and the Armoric or Bas Breton tongues, and is very dissimilar from the

* Such as the learned Vallancey, and some, though very few, other antiquaries.

Greek and Latin, and most of the modern languages of Europe. That it is of so high an origin, that not one of the whole school of Pyrrhonism has ever attempted to fix a date to its introduction, to trace its immediate source or origin, or even hint at any particular change, admixture, or modification having been introduced into it. Upon the origin, qualities, antiquity, and preservation of the language, credit can only be allowed to proficients in it. Not one of those who deny, or even question the general authenticity of the ancient history of Ireland, from Gerald Barry to the Rev. James Gordon, has offered an objection to any one of their philological observations or inferences. Most of them profess, and all of them are believed to be ignorant of the Irish language.

Dr. Parsons says*, that having endeavoured to trace the languages of Europe to their sources, he thought he had discovered that, which was previous to the Greek tongue all over Asia Minor, Scythia, and Greece; and this was the Japhetan, called afterwards the Pelasgian, and then the Gomerian and Magogian, or Scythian language, which is now found only in Ireland, the Highlands of Scotland, and Wales. That great and learned Irish antiquary, Charles O'Connor, Esq. says†, “ After a succession of ages, the Scuits or Scots (*σκυθαι*), migrated into Ireland, and became masters of it. These new comers are pointed out to us by the Senachies, under the appropriate names of

The Irish
is the old
Scythian
language,
or Pelas-
gian.

* Pref. to Rem. of Japhet, p. xii.

† Dissertation on the Origin and Antiquities of the antient Scots, p. xxx.

Gaideliars, Scuits and Phenians; appellations which denote a mixture of Celtes, Scythians, and Phœnicians in the part of the continent, from whence they arrived. The same Senachies have been equally positive in deriving the original of these strangers from the western parts of Spain, a country well known to be inhabited in early times by colonies of Celtes, Scythians, and Phœnicians. The number of Punic or Phœnician words discovered in the Irish tongue could not be borrowed from the Gauls or Britons, in whose countries the Phœnicians, or their younger sons the Carthaginians, made no settlements. The original language of Spain was Celtic most certainly. The Scythians, the most wandering people on earth, found their way into that country, and introduced a dialect, which had a near affinity with that they found before them; they might, therefore, with the greater facility, incorporate with the indigenous inhabitants. In these times incorporations were common between the Celtes and Scythians. The language of Ireland proves such an incorporation; for we find it to be what our old grammarians have termed it, a *berla tepide*, a mixed tongue; partly Celtic and partly Scythian, wherein we discover a number of Punic or Phœnician words. It was in Spain, and in no other country (European or Lybian), that such a mixture could take place; and we should on that score pronounce, that the origin of the speakers must be from Spain, though the Senachies should be silent or ignorant about it. Besides the use of Phœnician terms, this language bears other strong marks of a great degree of civilization among the people, who

introduced it into Ireland, and in time brought the harsh dialects of the old natives to give way to it. It has been harmonized out of the original consonantal pronunciation of the Celtic, and must be particularly distinguished from the tongue spoken in the Celtic Gaul, which even in the time of the emperor Julian was intolerably grating to a Roman ear. Had the Scots (as some suppose) arrived here immediately from that country, or immediately from Britain, they would undoubtedly have retained the articulation and syntax used in those countries. But we find the reverse of this absolutely; no two languages, having a community of words, differing more in construction and cadence, than those used in Ireland and Wales. These differences evince beyond all dispute, that both have originated from different Celtic nations, though they still retain the simple signs in each, which were used primevally by their Gomerian ancestors. It is remarkable of the old Scottish also, that it is replete with those abstract and technical terms, which barbarians or unlettered nations are strangers to, but which civilized nations can never want. The great number of these technical terms, adapted to most of the wants of men in the most enlightened times, declare the speakers to be a nation, who cultivated their intellectual faculties before they had any acquaintance with Greek or Roman learning, and (for the reasons we have assigned) that they have not borrowed those artificial and abstract terms from Britain or the Celtic Gaul, but from a Celtic country superior in knowledge to either; and this could be no other than Spain."

Antiquity
of the lan-
guage now
spoken by
the Irish.

In confirmation of the great antiquity of the language now spoken by the native Irish, and grammatically taught by the professors of it, some of whom have published grammars, dictionaries, and essays upon it, is that wonderful discovery made by General Vallancey, that the Punic scene, given by Plautus in his *Pænulus*, which had for ages baffled the erudition of the grammarians, scholiasts, and philologists, to decypher or understand, turns out to be perfectly intelligible to the Irish scholar. It contains about 25 punic lines, which, when properly marshalled, without alteration of a letter (for the words of a dead language had from the ignorance of editors run one into another, and the syllables been improperly separated from each other), approach infinitely nearer to the modern Irish, than the English now in use is to that, which was written and spoken 300 years ago; although the time, at which the Carthaginian colony left Phœnicia, to the period of Plautus, was about 600 years: and the whole computed interval between the arrival of the Milesian colony in Ireland, and the present period, at which these Punic lines are still intelligible to every adept in the Irish language, is above 3000 years*. Not one of these self-confident

* This most surprising and demonstrative proof of the identity of the Phœnician and Irish tongue, is to be seen in Vall. Col. V. 2, and in Pars. Def. 138, &c. In order to induce the reader to carry his researches to the fountain head of this interesting instruction, a specimen of two of the many lines is submitted to his observation.

Punic, or Carthaginian, as in the old editions of Plautus.

Bythim mothym moetothii nelecthanti diasmachon.

Pyrrhonites has attempted even an answer, much less a refutation of this demonstration of the learned Vallarsy. It is manifest that a very slight knowledge of the Irish language would enable one to shew, that these lines, in Plautus partook no more of modern Irish, than of modern English, of Latin, or of Greek. Were so obvious an assertion well-founded it would not have been withholden *.

It is more easy to deny than to prove the truth of a remote fact. Length of time diminishes or weakens all other means of proof, except the intrinsic evidence

Grounds of the authenticity of the ancient annals.

Proper intervals arranged by General Hallancey.

Byth lya! Mo thym nocto thii nel ech anti dias machon.

Modern Irish.

Beith liom. Methyme noetaithe nial anti daise maccoine.

Be with me. I have no other intention but of recovering my daughter.

Carthaginian, or Punic, and modern Irish, agreeing to a letter.

Handone silli hanum bene, silli mustine.

Whenever she (Venus) grants a favour, she grants it linked with misfortunes.

* The peculiarity of a living tongue claiming so remote an origin as the Irish, has worked on many absolute incredulity, that these ancient metrical annals are written in an intelligible language. Now if several persons, without any communication with each other, can extract by translation the same sense from the original text, the experiment will amount to absolute demonstration of the certainty and reality of the language in which they are written. This experiment was satisfactorily and successfully made by the learned Percy, as he informs us, in his preface to Old English Poetry.

the of record itself. In law, deeds of a 20 years date prove themselves. There is neither merit nor conviction in bare incredulity from length of time. The simple narrative of a probable important fact of 2000 years date, in a language apparently coeval with the fact recorded, is a strong presumptive proof, that the fact did then happen, if the record can be fixed to no particular subsequent date, if it be clear of any juggle or fraud in the recording of it, and if no intermediate substantial alteration in the language of the record can be ascertained. The grounds, then, of the veracity of such fact will rest, 1. Upon the pre-existence of the language in which it is recorded. 2. Upon the physical possibility and moral probability of the fact recorded. 3. Upon the tradition * of the country running with the record. 4. Upon the mode of entering and preserving the records. 5. Upon the preexistence of a literary character, in which the record could be written. 6. Upon the general and uninterrupted submission and belief, through many centuries, of all those who understood the record, and the doubts, disbelief, or denial of those only who understood it not. 7. Upon the names of places, towns, personages, usages, and religious and civil ceremonies, which can only be explained by their having been occasioned by the facts and circumstances recorded. It is one thing to disbelieve, another to disprove tradition. Several co-existing and concurring

* The general tradition of a people is seldom to be wholly despised. Celt. Res. p. 138.

written documents for many centuries corroborate tradition; the immemorial retention of compound and descriptive names of persons and places confirms it.

The etymology of proper names and appellatives opens so wide a field of curious disquisition to the learned, that it is impracticable to enter upon it without overleaping the proposed limits of this Dissertation. Suffice it to observe, that to all the old Irish proper names and immemorial appellatives, the knowledge of the modern Irish language furnishes the ready clue. The Irish scholar readily connects with their ancient annals the compound or historical formation of the name, or the descriptive topography of the appellation. The difficulty of giving credit to any historical narrative of events so remote as 1300 years before the birth of Christ, arises not out of the physical impossibility or the moral improbability of the events having happened, but from the difficulty of preservation and transmission.

We have spoken generally of the facility of tradition; to which it must be added, that it was the ancient oriental custom to celebrate great historical events in metre, which not only attracted the attention of the auditors, but helped to imprint upon the mind a more faithful recollection of the extraordinary achievements recited or rehearsed. Hence the original institution of bards, minstrels, or, as the Irish called them, *Philleas*, or *Phillids*, was most honourable; and the nation which held them in the highest estimation, possessed the most irrefragable proof of its

remote antiquity*. Hitherto these metrical annals, or verses, or fasti, or by whatever name the compositions of these phillids are known, have been considered as the original mode of faithfully transmitting

* Thus Moses, according to Josephus, composed an ode in hexameter verse on the miraculous passage of the Israelites through the Red Sea; and we read his sublime canticle in the book of Exodus. Mr. Smith, in his *Dissertation on Ossian's Poems* (p. 129), remarks, that M'Pherson and sir William Temple observe, that the frequently great length of these metrical annals did not prevent them from being learned and retained by heart. Dr. Parsons, in his *Remains of Japhet*, p. 581, speaks of the poems of Ossian, which had been then recently translated and published by Mr. M'Pherson, to whose composition some attributed them, which gave rise to the noted contest about their authenticity. Dr. Hugh Blair, and other Scottish writers warmly defending, and Dr. Johnson with other English authors most vehemently denying it. Mr. Whitaker, however, powerfully supported them as genuine. Dr. Parsons, who was a profound proficient in the old Irish and Gaelic language, maintains their originality, and says, "as a proof, that they are original Irish poems, I am acquainted with a gentleman in Ireland, who has by heart several of the stories in both *Fingal* and *Tamoor*, taught him in his youth in that language; who expressed much surprise, when he found them exactly agreeing with some of those Mr. M'Pherson had translated." This gentleman says, "that many of the people of Ireland retain some of these very poems, which were handed down from time immemorial in many families; and it is remarkable, that this gentleman was in the West Indies during the printing of these poems, from whence he did not return till they were published." According to Dr. Campbell (*Surv.* p. 77), authority is the principal argument in favor of antiquity. He reprobates the Scot, who for true Scottish history obtrudes upon us the sonnets of Hybernian bards.

Whence issued forth at great M'Pherson's call,
That old new epic pastoral *Fingal*.

by tradition the most interesting events and circumstances of their nation.

From the moment the nation, in which these bardic institutions prevailed, was in possession of a literary character or alphabet, by which these verses or compositions could be preserved, from that moment arose a degree of authenticity, which removed the frailty, defect, and casualties of memory, even aided by metre, rhyme, or verse. The time, at which the Milesian colony is stated to have arrived in Ireland, is about 1300 years before the christian æra, which is about the time, at which the learned Petavius informs us, Perseus reigned at Mycenæ. He follows Appollodorus and Pausanias, who wrote under greater disadvantages of foreign nations, than the Irish phillids did of their own; more especially, as this very period was the beginning of their ethnic mythology, their fables, their allegories, their demigods, their heroes, their Deucalion, their Hercules, their Argonauts, and the whole mass of embellishment and fiction, with which the idolatrous priests and bards of Greece designedly enveloped and disguised the fundamental truths of history, to flatter and mislead that conceited, astute, and intellectual people.

It has been objected to the authority of the Irish annals, that this Milesian race of kings are mere creatures of the imagination; that no coeval kingdoms can be traced, over which they reigned either in their native soil, or in any of their transient emigrations, or where they ultimately settled; that countries can be traced and affixed to the great names of the early ru-

Greater certainty upon the introduction of writing.

Objections to the reality of a Milesian race.

lers, or first kings of men, such as Ninus, Zoroaster, Semiramis, and others of like fame and notoriety ; but that no faint shadow of the Milesian descendants of Japhet, is to be caught from the closest attention to the sacred and profane penmen, who have left any records of these remote periods ; their conclusion therefore is the unqualified banishment of the whole race to the region of fiction and romance.

The observations in answer to this train of argument, are,

Sacred and
profane his-
tory confin-
ed to a small
portion of
the inhabit-
ed globe.

First : That the sacred penmen confine their annals to the Hebrew nation ; the Greek writers speak only of Greece, Egypt, and some Asiatic countries ; and the Roman authors carry not their history, for at least one thousand years from this period, (excepting what they copied from the Grecians) beyond the confines of Italy, or at most to the coast of Africa, and the peninsula of Hesperia ; consequently, no mention of or reference to the greater portion of human population can be found in any of the written annals, commonly called sacred and profane, or more familiarly the scriptures and classics. But the Hebrew, the Grecian, the oriental, and the Roman nation differed not from their cotemporary generations, communities, or states, in any essential, or generally pervading principle of government and civil institutions ; yet they are no where recorded. It does not therefore follow, that they never existed. On the contrary, it is morally evident, that they did exist. The extremity of barbarism, which afterwards ran so close upon brutality, was the gradual effect of depraved man, which increased in proportion

to his elongation from the days of patriarchal simplicity, experience, and knowledge.

Secondly : At this epoch the rights of sovereignty ^{Origin of distinct nations.} were exercised by a great multiplicity of individuals, who very carefully kept up their genealogical rights of paternal or patriarchal dominion over their respective families, tribes, septs, or clans; which were subdivisions, or subordinate settlements, under the original division of the earth, amongst the fifty-five grand, and great grand-children of Noah. Petavius * rightly observes, that at this period many of the same family were said to reign at one and the same time, by reason of the several family settlements or distributions of the property claimed by and holden under the head or chief of the family, tribe, sept, or clan. These again formed separate communities, subject to their immediate appointees, rulers, or chiefs †, and in process of time became either subdued by their neighbours, or remained independent nations.

Thirdly : The antiquity and origin of the Irish language have been already considered, and as no other ^{The immortal use of the language of these annals, strong proof of their authenticity.} trace or more recent introduction of it into that island has been set up by any one of the deriders of the ancient history of Ireland, from the courtly prelate of St. David, down to the sceptic rector of Killegny, by every rule of reasoning the coequality of the language

* " Nisi eodem tempore plures simul regnasse velimus ; quod tunc erat usitatum, cum et oppidorum domini reges appellarentur." Pet. Rat. Temp: l. i. c. 8,

† Reges dicti a regendo.

of the records with the events recorded, is a *datum* to be no longer called in question. Philological research, which often furnishes demonstration of the antiquity of a language, has been studiously avoided. The learned curate of Olveston has observed, that etymology, though no good leader, is a powerful subaltern. Such a pursuit might comprise an infinite mass of ingenuity, curiosity, and erudition, without closing in any definitive result. If these annals be written, (no matter for the present argument whether truly or falsely), in a language immemorially used in a particular country up to the present day, and this language in its roots, its dialect, its letters, its terminations, its pronunciation, and its spirit, can be traced to no other living language, but can be proved to have been immemorially used by a nation existing three thousand years ago, what other proof, short of holy writ, can be called for of the colonial or derivative descent or pedigree from that nation, the language of which they still retain? It is notorious that in the most ancient languages, most names of places are descriptive or topographical; if then an existing language can adapt the ancient appellative to the situation or peculiarity of the place, it is demonstration that the language and appellative are cotemporary; and if it be further found, that places in similar situations, or with like peculiarities in the mother country, notwithstanding the change of language, still retain the same appellations as in the colony, and that proper names of families and persons are the same in each, what stronger proof

can be adduced of the identity of origin? Hitherto we have considered language as the oral vehicle of tradition; "and the general tradition of a people is seldom to be wholly despised *."

Fourthly : Written document is the most unerring mode of transmitting facts and traditions to remote posterity. The establishment therefore of the leading fact, that the use of writing preexisted the events recorded in the nation, in which they are reported to have taken place, opens great facility in proving, and powerful means of refuting the denial of circumstances and events of remote ages. Assuming from what has been offered, that the Milesian colonists, who arrived in Ireland about 1300 years before the christian æra, were Phœnicians, and therefore of Scythian origin, it is of the highest importance to examine, whether or no they carried with them the use of letters. For unless they carried with them, or found the inhabitants of the island already in possession of the art of writing, then indeed must be banished to the region of fiction and romance, whatever the phyllids and sœnachies have reported of their own institution, functions, and duties in composing, entering, collating, and preserving these monuments of their national achievements. Their claim of the use of letters at this time is not made in the way of boast, or set up as a privilege, to which their neighbours did not aspire.

It is not a little singular, that the earliest Ethnic writer of history lived at this very period, was himself a Phœnician, and wrote his history in the Phœnician

Written documents the strongest evidence of past events.

The first profane historian was a Phœnician, and

* Day. Celt. Res. p. 38.

lived about
1300 years
before
Christ.

language*. There is no incongruity, therefore, in recording, that in a Phœnician colony, history was at

* Sanchoniatho was a Phœnician, and a most diligent and faithful searcher and transcriber of the records of his own country, as well as of others, which he had access to; but the work of which a large portion is preserved by Eusebius, in the first book of his *Evangelical Preparation*, ch. 9, is professedly an apology for the idolatry of his times. He studiously suppresses the deluge, which was known to be God's punishment of the world for that offence. He changes indeed several names of persons, who, notwithstanding, from the number of generations from Adam, called by him Protogenus, or the first-begotten, and from several other peculiarities and circumstances, are evidently brought to accord with the Mosaic account of our antediluvian ancestors to the 12th generation. Sanchoniatho mentions Misor in that order, which tallies with Moses' Misraim, one of the sons of Ham, who was a man of ambition, and the restorer of idolatry after the flood; and consequently this defender of idolatry would trace the descendants of the founder or restorer of their false religion, as Moses did those of Seth, who were the worshippers of the true God. This idolatrous Phœnician annalist records, that a son of Misor (or Misraim, who was in the 12th generation from Adam) whom he calls Thoth, was settled as the monarch of Egypt, and was the great Hermes of the Egyptians, whom O'Halloran, Parsons, Vallancey, and others, prove Sir Isaac Newton to have considered as Phœnix, (or our Feniusa Farsa): and according to Eusebius, (l. x, c. 3,) he compiled his history from documents, shewn to him by Hierombal, a Levite, and from the registered annals of particular towns. The fragment of this first profane writer, from the erudite elucubrations of Dr. Cumberland, bishop of Peterborough, published in 1724, after his death, with a learned preface by his chaplain and son-in-law, Dr. Payne, under the title of *Sanchoniatho's Phœnician History, translated from the first book of Eusebius de Preparatione Evangelica, &c.* lets in new day-light upon the history of this early period, Sanchoniatho, says the truly learned Celtic researcher (p. 3), is supposed

this period of time attended to and written; and from the annals or history so written, or asserted to have been written, we learn, that it was a standing custom of the ancient nobility of the country, to retain several bards in their establishments, in order to communicate and transmit to posterity their and their families' achievements; besides those, which were in the pay and service of the public, for taking care of the historical records, and adding the notices of their own times to those of former ages.

The æra, in which this Phœnician history was written in the Phœnician language, by a Phœnician author, and at the distance of above 1400* years translated by a Phœnician into the Greek tongue, and so highly valued for its antiquity and genuineness by the learned Eusebius†, that he thought proper to ingraft

Sanchoniatho's history preserved by Eusebius.

to have lived 300 years before Homer, and Homer, according to the great chronologist Petavius, L. 1. c. xii. lived about 1000 years before Christ. *Post Trojanum bellum 168, quo tempore clarissimum ingenii lumen Homerus in lucem exiit annis ante Christum circiter Mille, Judæis Solomone regnante.* The earliest history (barring the scriptural accounts) which has reached posterity, was thus written in the very year, in which the Milesians are recorded to have arrived in Ireland: it was written by a Phœnician; it is the history of his Phœnician ancestors; and as far as it has been depurated from idolatrous fiction, and its allegory brought into substance by the learned prelate of Peterborough, perfectly accords with the Mosaic and Irish account of these early periods.

* Adrian, in whose time Philo wrote, began his reign 117 years after the birth of Christ.

† Eusebius, bishop of Casarea, was born in Palestine, about A. D. 267, and died about 338. St. Hierom translated several of his works out of Greek into Latin, and says of him, that he had

a large portion of it in his work, in the first of his thirteen books of Evangelical Preparation, is full moral proof of the use of letters by the Phœnicians at this important epoch of ancient Irish history.

The ancient characters of the Irish. As to the particular character of letters then used, presuming them still in use with the native Irish, the question can be fairly stated, understood, and decided by those only, who have a scientific knowledge of the Irish language*. Suffice it therefore to remark, that the

read not only the works of the Greek historians, philosophers, and divines, but also those of the Egyptians and Phœnicians. Dr. Jortin (Rem. on Eccl. Hist. v. iii. p. 160) stiles him the most learned bishop of his age, and the father of ecclesiastical history.

* It is impossible to refer to the learned elucubrations of Mr. Charles O'Connor, Dr. Parsons, General Vallancey, and other adepts in the Irish language, who have with dignified science thrown so much light upon the ancient history of this country, and not mingle indignation with contempt for those, who in lieu of argument, knowledge, and refutation, resort to flippant indecency, and coarse abuse. "This is the language (says Dr. Ledwich, p. 346, of the respectable and learned Vallancey), which the very eccentric author of the *Collectanea de rebus Hybernica*, affects to be the parent of every other on the globe. *O tribus Anticyris Caput insanabile!*"—He had before expressed himself (p. 12.) with the like arrogance of all the supporters of a system differing from his own. "The hint of the Phœnicians (who were great navigators and traders) acted as a strong ferment on the intellects of British and Irish antiquaries, and produced the frothy systems in the writers before named, and particularly in the author of the *Collectanea de rebus Hybernica*, who has completely orientalized our ancient history." As modesty and science generally attend each other, how speaks General Vallancey in his 6th vol. of the *Collectanea*, p. 414, published 1804. "*Linguarum cognatio cognationis gentium precipuum certissimumque argumentum est* (Sharrington). And the learned Ibro goes still farther;

letters or characters used by the ancient Irish were Scythian or Pelasgian, and were seventeen only in number; and from their first three letters they named their *Bethluisnion*, as the Greeks had their al-

he insists, that language is to be preferred even to the annals of remote times, to prove the origin of a people, particularly of a migrating people. What objection then can be made to a people, whose history I have vindicated, and whose most ancient annals and language confirm them to have been an oriental people?" In this same passage, General Vallancey gives what becomes a most valuable proof of the immutability of the Irish language at a middle period, viz. immediately before its conversion to christianity, and which at this moment is a living demonstration of the authenticity of the Irish records. "As to the Waldense language being similar, or rather identically the same with the Irish, it is well accounted for in Irish history. Dathi, monarch of Ireland, A.D. 398, led a numerous army to Gaul, and thence to the Alps, where he was killed by lightning. Several of his troops having lost their leader, settled there. The *Oratio Dominica*, in the Waldense, printed by Chamberlain, in London, in 1720, is certainly pure Irish." Now, can it for a moment be conceived, that a person of General Vallancey's science and respectability, would expose himself in an assertion of such obvious and notorious falsity (the identity is admitted by Mr. Davies, *Cel. Res.* p. 226.) were the Waldensic Lord's Prayer a different language from the Irish. If the assertion be true, then does there exist the most striking demonstration of the truth of that part of the ancient history of Ireland, which relates the death of Dathi, by a thunder-bolt at the foot of the Alps, whence some of his army brought home his corps to be burned in Ireland, and that the remainder settled themselves in that country. Thence has the Irish language been ever since there retained. Dathi was the last heathen monarch immediately preceding Leoghaire, who was converted by St. Patrick.

phabet, and the Romans their *Abcedarium**. "This people, (says Mr. O'Connor) knew so little of the Greek or Roman learning, that it was only in the 5th century they have learnt the use of the Roman alphabet from the christian missionaries. It was then, or soon after, that they laid aside their uncouth and virgular characters, their *Bethluisnion* and their *Oglum*, the form heretofore used, and since preserved by the antiquaries, either from vanity, or the more rational motives of preserving an ancient fact worthy of being recorded. The old manner of writing was indeed useless to the public, after a better and more elegant form was introduced."

Contrast of
Mr. Davies
and Dr.
Ledwich's
treatment
of the
learned
Vallancey.

Ere we pass from the proofs of language to other evidence of the antiquity of the Irish history, it will not be uninteresting to contrast the conduct of the respectable curate of Olveston, towards the learned Vallancey, with that of Dr. Ledwich, who, by his disgraceful retreat to Antycira has proved his own want of the remedial qualities of that island†. "General Vallancey has proved, that Irish has a certain degree of connection with Chaldaic, Arabic, Persian, Coptic, and Phœnician. I feel, continues he, infinite respect for the General's learning and abilities: I acknowledge, that much of his reasoning has force in it;

* Origin and account of the ancient Scots, p. 38. For the nature and formation of the Bethluisnion and the Ogham characters, in which the druids and bards used to commit their secrets to writing, we refer the reader to Vallancey, Parsons, and other adepts in the language: our aim being only at present to ascertain the fact of the Irish having a character of their own.

† P. 224, Celt. Res.

but I am not prepared, implicitly, to receive his complete hypothesis." This Revd. erudite researcher into the origin, tradition, and language of the ancient Britons, is far from treating the lettered General as a maniac for orientalizing the Irish, which it appears, he better understood than Dr. Ledwich. He says that "The Irish language has a more striking affinity with dialects which are confessedly Celtic, than it has with any of the Asiatic languages. It may therefore be presumed, that it is in the main a language of that race and family." † There is exuberance of proof from etymology, tradition, and history, that the Celtic tribes and language are primevally of Asiatic origin. But the following avowal of Mr. Davies, rather places him in the ranks of the supporters, than opposers of the antiquity of Irish history. "The Irish language appears to have arrived at maturity amongst the Japetidæ, while they were yet in contact with Aramæan families, and formed a powerful tribe in Asia Minor and in Thrace. It may therefore in particular instances have more similitude, or analogy to the Asiatic dialects, than what appears in those branches of the Celtic, that were matured in the west of Europe." We may without presumption say, which were sown, germinated, and even fructified in the west of Asia.

Fifthly : There can scarcely be more decisive evidence of the antiquity of a nation and of its ancient history, ^{Religious institutions prove the derivation of nations.} than from proofs of the early existence of their religious institutions. In colonies, or derivative settle-

† *Cel. Res.* p. 224.

ments, the proofs of the preexisting religion in the mother country, and its deduction down to modern times of evidence, will be demonstrative conclusion of the derivation of the colony from that country, in which the original institutions existed. The Milesians, who passed from Spain to Ireland, being of Scytho-Phœnician origin, must, at the time of their emigration, have carried with them that system of religious worship, which then prevailed in the country, from which they emigrated. That this was an idolatrous worship, is evident from the Phœnician history of the Phœnician historian Sanchoniatho, written as an apology for idolatry at this very period, viz. 1500 years before the birth of Christ. The Grecian mythology, as it has been handed down to us in their poetical and other writers, had not been worked up into its regular fable at this period, when the idolatrous worship of Baal by the Phœnicians had taken place. St. Augustin, who understood the Punic or Phœnician language, and whose authority, therefore, is of the highest estimation upon the point, considered that the Baal of the Phœnicians was the Jupiter of the Greeks. John of Antioch, Cedrenus, and Suidas, thought it their Mars. Our learned orientalist Lightfoot, considered the word Baal in the singular, and Baalim in the plural number, meaning, in Hebrew and Chaldaic, *lord, mighty, or sovereign*, to be a generic appellation for all idols, to which supreme adoration was paid. Baal, in the scriptures, is usually spoken of as the idol of the Moabites and Phœnicians. Selden (*De Diis. Syr.*) says, the Babylonians understood by it either the stars or host of heaven, or such

kings and heroes, whose memory they had consecrated to posterity by a religious worship.

A full disquisition of the literal, historical, and mythological import of the word Baal or Bel would require a volume. When, for the purpose of authenticating the ancient history of Ireland, we shew, that an idolatrous people paid worship to Baal as their supreme deity, for ten or twelve centuries after the establishment and propagation of the Grecian mythology, without the introduction of any Grecian god into their worship, we prove that they received their idolatrous religion from a nation, which adored Baal before the invention of the Grecian fable. It was in reason, that the earliest idolaters should be the least gross and brutal in the objects of their adoration. Of all objects of the senses, the sun, from giving light, heat, and vegetable animation to the earth, unquestionably partakes of the most qualities calculated to impress the mind with the idea of Divinity. We read, therefore, that the Phœnicians adored the sun under this name, and that they ushered in the great annual festival of their god towards the beginning of summer, by the ceremony of kindling a sacred fire. “ * In Ireland, the first day of May is celebrated with great rejoicings by all these original people throughout the kingdom;

Of the import of the word Baal or Bel.

* Rem. of Japh. p. 90. Dr. Parsons gives in detail the method, in which this relict of pagan observance was kept up even to his days in the country parts of Ireland. He published his book in 1767. He gives a further instance, in which that people, although they had received christianity above 1300 years, still retained ano-

and they call May-day *Bealteine*, *Beltine*, or *Balteine*, the meaning of which is the fire of Baal: *teine*, fire; *Beal* or *Bel*, *Baal*, *La Bealtine*, is May-day." Does not the continuance of such a custom in an island admitted to have been inhabited by those who were born within a century of the deluge; does not the retention of particular phrases to this day in that island prove to demonstration, that Baal, or Bel, as the Grecians, or Belus, as the Romans afterwards terminated the name, was the general deity, which the inhabitants once adored, and that the introduction of this worship into Ireland preceded Grecian intercourse and Roman conquests?

Coincidence of Irish annals, and Sanchoniatho's Phœnician history.

By debarassing the mind of that awe and diffidence, which very remote antiquity is apt to throw upon the objects of criticism, we shall be astonished at the analogies and coincidences, which are manifest upon the face of the Irish annals, and the coeval history of Sanchoniatho, as it is preserved in Eusebius. That learned Greek * father observes, that the very ancient Greeks or barbarians had not then given into the worship of idols, the genealogy of gods and goddesses, the invocation of demons and spirits, or the obscene mythology of heroes; that this Phœnician history of Sanchoniatho proves, that the false belief in the multiplicity of gods, which some centuries afterwards prevailed throughout the world, began from the Phœni-

ther heathenish custom, which they blended with christianity. "To this day they pay great reverence to the new moon at the instant they first see her, crossing themselves, whilst they are bowing or dropping a courtesy to the moon." (P. 49.)

* De Prep. Evang. l. i. c. 6.

cians and Egyptians. That in process of time they paid almost divine honours to the inventors of useful arts and sciences, as to the benefactors of mankind, and erected images, statues, and temples to their memories. But, in the beginning, they worshipped only as immortal gods, the sun and moon, the fixed stars, and planets; calling the former mortal, the latter immortal gods. *The Irish antiquaries report, that Tighermas was the first who introduced idolatry, and erected pagan altars in the island, and began to establish his religion about 100 years after the Milesians arrived in the country; and that he was struck dead by lightning, as he was worshipping his idol Crum Cruadh, the same god that Zoroaster adored in the east †; whence the field, in which this awful visitation of God took place, was ever after called *Magh Sleaghta*, or the Field of Worship. Now Zoroaster expresses, in the sacred book, in which he collected the affairs of Persia, what this God was, in a manner singularly coinciding with the doctrine taught by the Irish druids, amongst whom, though idolatry prevailed, yet we trace no symptom of the idols of Apollo, Jupiter, Ceres, or any other of the more recent Grecian deities. “God has the head of a hawk; he is the first of the incorruptible, eternal, unbegotten, indivisible, like only to himself; the source of all good works, expecting no reward; the best, the most prudent, the father of right, justice, untaught, all perfect, wise, and the inventor of the divine nature ‡.” “The Phœni-

* Keat. p. 64. † Apud Eus. ib. c. vii. ‡ Euseb. ib.

cians, by Sanchoniatho's account, kept up a perpetual fire in their temples, as the most like unto the heavenly fire." The like was preserved in Ireland down to the times of christianity; as appears from the fire kept up by the muns of St. Bridget in Kildare, till it was ordered to be extinguished in 1220, to remove all occasion of superstition.

The correspondence of the Irish ethnic worship with the Phœnician cult described by Sanchoniatho is further corroborated by their adoring the sun under the name of Bel, and the moon under that of Samhain, usually joining with them the stars of the firmament. The common oath taken on all solemn occasions by the pagan Irish, was by the sun, moon, and stars*. Mr. O'Halloran, a modern author well acquainted with the native tongue and usages of his own country, informs us, that to this very day the heartiest wish of happiness to a friend amongst the natives, is, *The blessings of Samen and Bel be with you* †. According to Eusebius's ‡ account of the old Phœnician theo-

* O'Hal. 114.

† Ib. 47.

‡ Eus. l. 1. c. vii. The Latin interpreter's note to this passage of Eusebius is, "Baalschamain, among the Hebrews, signifies the Lord of heaven. It appears, therefore, how nearly related to each other are the Hebrew and Phœnician tongues."—It is singular, that in the few Punic lines, introduced by Plautus in his *Pœnulus*, this familiar invocation upon the great Deity of the Phœnicians, *Belsamen*, twice occurs.

It is here obvious to remark, that the earlier the deviation from the pure worship of the true Cod was, the less corrupt, obscene, and degrading to human nature, was the idolatry which immediately replaced it. It is consequently a powerful argument in support of the antiquity of Irish history, that no author ever at-

logy, they with uplifted hands worshipped the sun as their god, calling out, *Beelsamen!* that is, the Lord of heaven.

tempted to impute to their pagan worship any of those obscenities, fooleries, and horrors, which pervaded the theological system of the Greeks and their corrupt imitators. This observation is no less appropriate to the pagan Irish, than that which Eusebius applied to their ancestors, in his interesting chapter concerning the most ancient idolatry. "Wherefore no one can doubt, but that these gods were the fabrications and inventive fables of human imagination; nay, even that they were the artifices of the most impious and wicked men, with the direct view of fomenting and gratifying their lusts, as our sacred text has it, (Wisd. xiv. 12.) *The devising of idols was the beginning of fornication.*" So far Eusebius, in the fourth age of the church, is an authority for the book of Wisdom being canonical or inspired scripture, though the church of England reckon it apocryphal. Considering it, however, as generally attributed to Solomon, or at least containing his sentiments, and supposed to have been written in or soon after his days, it will be allowed historically correct; and it is to be observed, that it refers to a period of 1000 years before Christ, which nearly corresponds with that of the Phœnician colony settling in Ireland; and is the precise period of Grecian history, to which Petavius refers, as having been so disguised by the lies of the poets, as scarcely to be now judged of. *Hoc intervallum vetustissime Græciæ origines illas amplectitur, quarum qualemcunque veritatem sic poetæ mendaciis suis obruerunt, ut ea dijudicari modò nequeat.* Rat. Temp. p. 1. 1, c. vii. The text goes on, "and the inventors of them the corruption of life; for neither were they from the beginning, neither shall they be for ever." And in the same chapter, the sacred writer also reprobates the idolatrous (as if a new) practice of adoring the wooden god (probably Neptune), which the seafaring people, (who then chiefly were the Phœnicians and Egyptians) worshipped and confided in. The desire of gain, before this time, had devised shipping,

Coincidence of Irish annals; and Sanchoniatho's Phœnician history of druidical institutions.

It would be an undertaking of little difficulty, though of considerable length to prove, that the druidical institutions, which are acknowledged by all parties to have existed in Ireland, as well as in Britain, were of very ancient and Asiatic origin. Consequently, that their introduction into that country was anterior to the base corruptions of Grecian mythology. The valuable and scientific researches of Mr. Davies * have most satisfactorily demonstrated, that though the name of druid were local, the religion had a very deep root : that the druids were Celtæ of the patriarchal, or equestrian, or noblest families of their nations : that the Celtæ were the same people with the Cimmerii ; that by the very earliest Grecian paganism, Dis or Pluto, † was substituted in their mythology for Japhet, the father of Europe, or the western world ; that the fabulous accounts of Orpheus agree with the most authentic reports of druidism ; and that they were founded upon traditions of the first mythological and heroic ages ; traditions, which existed amongst the fabulous and corrupt Greeks, long before they could boast of a single historian, and

and the workman built it by his skill ; v. 2. This is alluded to as one amongst other arguments for removing the objections raised against Ireland's having been otherwise colonized than from Britain. May it not be suggested, that the introduction of christianity into Ireland without violence and bloodshed, was owing to the Irish never having given into the obscenity, cruelties, and horror of the general idolatry, that disgraced other nations.

* Celt. Res. 139 to 199.

† *Galli se omnes ab Dite patre prognatos prædicant : idque ab Druidibus proditum dicunt Cæs. Com.*

which uniformly intimate, that a mystical doctrine, similar to that, which the druids of the historical ages are known to have taught, had prevailed amongst the Celtæ or Cimmerii from the remotest periods. The very nature of the druidical institutions and traditions demonstrate, that the original druids themselves were Celtæ, and that their progenitors formed a part of that nation from its first establishment in the western world, or lower region, in which the sun set, and which therefore in the mythological language was called the land of shades and of night.

From the most intense and unbiassed observations upon druidical * mystery, it appears undeniable, that

Antiquity
of druidism.

* Although I have generally disclaimed any intention of arguing from etymology, I cannot here forbear to remark the futility of those, who derive the word *druid* from the Greek word *δρυς*, an oak; when their institution preexisted the very formation of the Greek tongue. With how much more reason does the learned curate of Olveston etymologize the word from the Celtic language, in which *dar* means superior, and *gwydd* a priest, hence *derwydd* or druid. Several modern elucubrations of the learned have established beyond controversy, that the original doctrines of the eastern bramins and western druids were the same, and that intercourse had long existed between these eastern and western sages. This is strongly countenanced by Mr. Wilford, in his ingenious and learned dissertation upon Egypt, and the Nile (*As. Re. v. 3.*) He informs us, that "the whole Indians were acquainted with our British isles, which their books describe, as the sacred islands in the west, calling one of them *Bretashan*, or the seat and place of religious duty. That one of those islands from the earliest periods was regarded as the abode of the Pitris, who were the fathers of the human race, and that in these islands were two places, in which those Pitris could be seen. That the old Hindus visited them accordingly for this purpose, and that even a

their fundamental and peculiar doctrines were once universal, which necessarily carries them up very close to the age of the earliest post-diluvian patriarchs. Sanchoniatho * expressly tells us, that the history, theology, and philosophy of the first ages, had been long before his time converted into mysterious allegories, and were so transmitted to the different nations of the earth. They were preserved in this mystic form by their priests, whether called in different countries Magi, Brachmans or Druids. Hence we learn from Clemens Alexandrinus, who died about 205, that Pythagoras, who is generally allowed to have borrowed his doctrine of the metempsychosis from the Druids, had consulted with the Gauls, (or Celtæ,) and the Brachmans. The first Celtic colony, which settled permanently in Britain, is represented by the oldest Welch bards, to have come originally from Asia, and consequently at a very early period. The system of druidism, which appears manifest throughout the ancient history of Ireland, must

certain Yogi, who was living when Mr. Wilford wrote (1791) had set out upon that very design with his attendant pilgrims, and had proceeded in his journey as far as Moscow."

* The history of Sanchoniatho has been always looked upon as the most ancient and authentic piece of profane history. Although the Greek father Theodoret supposed the name to have been fictitious, and in the Phœnician language equivalent to Philoletes, or lover of truth, yet Mr. O'Halloran from his knowledge of the Irish (or Phœnician) language appears to have given a much more satisfactory etymology of it (1. O'Hal. 47.) "As letters were hereditary in families, as well in Phœnicia as in Ireland, the word Sanchoniatho was the title of the national history from *Seanachas*, antiquity, and *Aithne*, knowledge; just as the grand digest of our history was called *Seanachas-mòre*, or the great antiquity."

Antiquity of Irish History.

from its construction have attained its meridian prevalence at a very early period*. It was natural, that it should preserve its original institutions pure and unadulterated, in those nations the longest which were the least open to the intercourse and influence of strangers holding different doctrines. Druidism, therefore was more likely to remain in its purity longer in Britain than in Gaul; and longer in Ireland than in Britain. However inaccurate Cæsar's account of the

* De Bel. Gal. L. vi. § xiii. Cæsar further reports what strongly illustrates and confirms the authenticity of the ancient history and annals of Ireland, which have been chiefly preserved in verse or metre, "they are taught to repeat a great number of verses by heart, and often spend 20 years in this institution, for it is deemed unlawful for them to commit their tenets or statutes to writing; though in other matters whether public or private, they use the Greek letters." And Pomponius Mela, who wrote his work *de Situ Orbis* under Claudius, that is within three-score years from the death of Cæsar, attributes "their chief science to the strength of memory; for they had no books, and they sometimes got by heart 20,000 verses, which were a kind of history of great men, which they derived by tradition." We attempt not to particularize the original tenets and functions of the druids, and how by lapse of time and occurrences of external and internal events they underwent changes, and became misrepresented by the Greeks and Romans, either from ignorance of their language, or their habitual arrogance and contempt of all foreign (which they called barbarous) nations. Every man, who impartially wishes to attain the truth, will be gratified, and satisfied with the interesting and masterly manner, in which Mr. Davies has handled this subject throughout the second section of his most valuable work upon *the antiquity of the Druidical order amongst the Celts*. (*Cel. Res.* from 129 to 199).

Gallic druids may in some instances be, he may be fairly allowed the credit of having faithfully reported their traditions, particularly when, as against themselves, they admitted their institution was supposed to have come originally from Britain, whence it passed into Gaul : and that “ even at that day, such as were desirous of being perfect in it, travelled thither for instruction.” Unless the Gallic druids of his time, from whose report he gives this account, had well known the fact, it is little likely they should to their own disparagement have allowed the honourable precedence and priority of dignity to their insular neighbours : a nation, at that time, infinitely less powerful than the Gauls, and of which Cæsar was infinitely more ignorant.

Antiquity
and impor-
tance of
the druidi-
cal institu-
tions.

This religious system, drawn from the early streams, which first branching off from the pure source of patriarchal faith, retained more of the natural religion of man, than any of the latter corruptions of idolatry, must have accompanied the first settlers in Britain ; and this affords us the authority of Cæsar, for the tradition and belief of the Gallic druids, (to whom he says the greatest deference, dignity and respect were due ; to whom the administration of public and private justice, the education of youth, the oblation of sacrifices, and the interpretation of the will of the gods, were entrusted), not that the Britons were originally descended from the Gauls ; but rather that the Gauls owed the origin of their pedigree, as well as of their religion to the Britons. It is demonstrable, that the progress of these early institutions, bearing intrinsic

evidence of the earliest post-diluvian origin, must have carried with them the tracks of the re-population of the earth after the deluge *.

* There has latterly appeared an unaccountable rage and lust for Pyrrhonism upon the antiquity of the population of our western islands. Any hypothesis is greeted by this modern school, which affects to contradict or call in doubt the veracity of those annals, which are substantially simple, and supported by all the moral evidence that a reasonable mind can require. A very recent work of industrious lore (*Caledonia*, by George Chalmers, esq. 1807) has this singular thesis, p. 15: "Meanwhile the *original impulse*, which had been given to mankind, peopled the British island during the most early times. The stone monuments, which still appear to inquisitive eyes in Britain and in Ireland, evince, that the first settlements of these islands must have been accomplished during the pristine ages of the post-diluvian world, while only one race of men existed in Europe, and while a second impulse had not yet induced various people to quit their original settlements in Asia. As the current of colonization during those times constantly flowed from the east to the west; as these isles were necessarily colonized from the neighbouring continents, Britain must undoubtedly have been settled from adjacent Gaul, by her Celtic people. Julius Cæsar and Tacitus agree in representing the religion, the manners, the language of Gaul and Britain, to have remained the same, when those curious writers cast their intelligent eyes on both those countries." Mr. Chalmers also (p. 5) says, that "*Britain was undoubtedly peopled from Gaul, and Ireland from Britain.*" Upon these passages, in which this modern investigator of western antiquities, speaks in so decided a tone of assurance, we know not what this *peopling impulse* imports. We distinguish not between the nature of the first and second impulse. We know but of one race of post-diluvian men, subdivided into several generations or families. We know of none, that must not have quitted their original settlements in Asia. We are enlightened by the torch of Moses to look into the peopling of the islands of the Gentiles, from the original settlements in Asia, before we follow the gradual, casual, and slow colonization of the island from their adjacent continents. We agree with his own author, Orte-

Druids translated by the Romans.

In support of the tradition and metrical annals of the Irish phillids, which assert that Ireland colonized Britain, we shall rest upon facts *, rather than the surmises or opinions of any writers, ancient or modern. Cæsar has traced the origin and purity of druidism from the west into Gaul. It did not then follow Mr. Chalmer's constant current of colonization from east to west, from the adjacent shore of Gaul to the British islands. Yet the institutions, which constituted the civil essence of a people, must have travelled and settled with them. Each Roman author, as it suited his turn, misrepresented the druids of their enemies. Their great influence upon the minds of the people, was more formidable to the Romans, than the swords of the enemy; and this drew upon them the spite and vengeance of the Romans, who in other instances did not act upon principles of intolerance†. No credit is

lius, that Europe was originally peopled by Scythians; and with Justin, Claverius, and scores of ancient and modern authors, who admit Scythia to be the most ancient great post-diluvian nation. Without being *bescreened by night* we admit with Pelloutier, that *Les Celtes ont été connus anciennement sous le nom general des Scythes*. We believe that the *intelligent eyes* of Cæsar and Tacitus saw little of Britain; nothing of Ireland. And we know, that Cæsar expressly deduces the religion, philosophy, and cultivation of the Gauls from Britain.

* Mr. Chalmers rather awkwardly lays down a very perspicuous rule to steer by. Ibid. "It is the facts which are stated by ancient authors, more than their opinions, respectable as they may be for their discernment and veracity, that ought to be the grounds of our convictions."

† The Roman religion was a mixture of the Grecian and many other systems: and they were by law allowed to worship any strange gods, but not to the exclusion of their own. *Warb. Div. Leg. v. i. p. 291.*

therefore to be given to the Roman traductions of the druids, when they charge them with the grossest polytheism, art magic, and necromancy; cremation and other human sacrifices; anthropophagy, and other most revolting horrors. On these grounds Pliny, after having given a most savage detail of their atrocities, concludes, that sufficient value cannot be set upon the Roman's merit in ridding society of such monsters *.

The intelligent eye of Tacitus, although it did not quite penetrate into Ireland, has brought us to its confines, where he reports a scene, which to the questions under discussion is of the highest importance. Suetonius Paulinus, the governor of Britain under Nero, having made himself master of the isle of Mona (now Anglesey), not only cut down the sacred groves of the druids in that place, and overturned their altars, but also burnt many of the druids themselves on those fires, which they had kindled for sacrificing the Roman captives, if the Britons should have gained the victory †. The power of the druids in Gaul had been so much reduced during the reign of Claudius, that about the year 45 A.D. it was considered by Suetonius to have been altogether extinguished ‡. And this attack upon the prime seat and stock of druidism in the isle of Britain, was about twelve years after followed up

Druids in
Mona.

* Non satis æstimari potest, quantum Romanis debeatur qui sustulere monstra. L. 3. c. 1.

† Tac. An. 14, 30. *Præsidium posthac impositum vicis, excisique luci, sævis superstitionibus sacri. Nam cruore captivo adolere aras, et hominum fibris consulere deos fas habebant.*

‡ Suet. Cl. p. 25.

by a much more extensive slaughter of them during the revolt of Boadicea, more particularly after the tide of fortune had turned against that heroine, so that they never after made any figure in Britain, though their superstition continued till the introduction of christianity into the island. They remained, however, untouched by the Roman power in Ireland. For of the Irish might be said, what Justin did of their progenitors, *they had heard of, but not felt the Roman arms.*

Their retreat into Mona examined.

The learned Celtic researcher observes, that into that sequestered scene (Mona) the druids, who detested warfare, had “gradually retired after the irruption of the Belgæ, and the further encroachment of the Romans. They had retired from their ancient magnificent seat at Abury, and from their circular uncovered temple on Salisbury Plain, in which the * hyperborean sages had once chaunted the hymns to Apollo or Plenyx.” This reverend antiquarian has admitted, “that the name of druid was local, but the religion had a very deep root. Indeed under this name, the influence and authority of the order once extended over the whole of Gaul. It covered this extent of territory as one nation.” Now it is too evident to argue, that the Belgæ made a part of Gaul; why therefore the irruption of the Belgæ, who believed in druidism, should expell the druids from their situations, is not easily accounted for. Nor does any historian mention

* Having disclaimed all disquisition from etymology, I have studiously avoided the plurality of names under which Ireland, the Irish, and their progenitors, have been recognized and described.

this retreat of the druids before the Roman arms; for although the defeat and captivity of Caractacus took place during the reign of Claudius, who died A. D. 54, and the destruction of the druidical groves and altars in Mona happened in the second year of his successor Nero's reign, there is not a vestige to be traced of this druidical retreat into Mona, in consequence of the Roman arms, and the Roman dread and persecution of the druidical influence and order.

Mr. Hume has faithfully and judiciously analyzed the substance of what the best of our own and foreign historians have said upon this subject *. “Notwithstanding these misfortunes, the Britains were not subdued; and this island was regarded by the ambitious Romans as a field, in which military honour might still be acquired under the reign of Nero. Suetonius Paulinus was invested with the command, and prepared to signalize his name by victories over these barbarians. Finding that the isle of Mona, now Anglesey, was the chief seat of the druids, he resolved to attack it, and to subject a place, which was the center of their superstition, and which afforded protection to all their baffled forces. The Britains endeavoured to obstruct his landing on this sacred island, both by the force of their arms, and the terrors of their religion.”

Mona the island of druidism.

It is inconsistent with the ordinary turn of events, (extraordinary we know none), that in the short space of twelve years, the success of the Roman arms, such

Why Mona called the sacred island.

* Hist. of Eng. Vol. 1. c. 1

as it was *, should have occasioned this spot to become the chief seat and center of druidical superstition, or given that island the appellation of sacred. The general nature of the political circumstances of those early times, the authority of the Irish annals, and the corroborative congruity of Cæsar's account of the Gallic druids, appear to lead to a very different conclusion, from that which has been drawn from them by the respectable Celtic researcher. Seeing that the Irish annalists relate, that the Milesian expedition was undertaken upon the prediction of Caicer, an arch druid, that Milesius and his posterity should possess the western island ; that upon their landing there 1300 years before the birth of Christ, they found druids † in the island, who attended the native princesses to meet them ; that in the time of Heremon the son of Milesius, a famous druid, named Trosdane, had then recently arrived from Scythia ‡, and that Cæsar

* Echard says, Hist. of Eng. vol. 1. c. 1. Thus for about 95 years, under the reigns of four emperors, the Britains continued free from the Roman yoke.

† Keat. 52.

‡ Ib. 61. This mention of the druid, like many other occurrences referred to by the phillids, may be tinged with something of the fabulous, or at least marvellous. Allowing however, for the workings of imagination, and the superstition of an idolatrous people in these early days, it may not be so incredible as some other of their fabulous coverings of historical facts. They inform us, that a set of British adventurers landed in the south-eastern parts of the island, and in their assaults upon the Milesians, violated all the laws of war and nations, by poisoning their arrows, and all their weapons : and that by the advice of this

reports, according to druidical tradition, that the origin and perfection of their institutions had been imported into Gaul from the west, and the chief seat of the Gallic druids was as nearly, as could be in the center of Gaul, (over the whole of which, according to Mr. Davies, druidism extended); it will not be deemed a very ill-founded or extravagant hypothesis, that the Hybernian druids first passed into Britain from

famous druid Trosdane, they milked 150 white faced cows into a reservoir, and all those, who were wounded with the British poison, were, upon bathing in this milk, infallibly cured. We refer not to this piece of history to shew the medical or miraculous effect of bathing in bald cows' milk; but to prove, that the Irish then admitted the influx and subsequent intercourse of adventurers from Britain, whom they distinguished from the several anterior settlers in the island; that the name, quality, and honourable functions of the druids, were then familiar to the natives; and that not only there were native druids then settled in the island, but that others came over from Scythia, where consequently at that time druidism had existence. Many other instances occur in Keating, in which the druids were consulted by the kings as to wars, battles, marriages, building palaces, and future events. The Irish Analysts report, that some of the Druids, (like the Sibils) predicted the birth and death of Our Lord, (p. 93). With reference to the bathing of poisonous wounds in milk, Pliny observes, that the Gaulish druids were not only bards, but the physicians of that nation. Dr. Warner in alluding to some of the fabulous tales in the ancient History of Ireland, has most judiciously observed (p. 19) "that fables of this nature are so far from being a mark of forged or false history, as we in this country have always been apt to consider it with regard to Ireland, that they are on the other hand, an irrefragable proof of its high antiquity, and of the very early use of letters in that nation."

the shore immediately opposite to Mona, and there first established their seat, either as the most central part of the two islands, considering them all in their religious view as subject to one influence, or as the most eligible spot for communication with the primeval seat in Ireland, from which they came. It appears from the Greek, Roman, middle age, and modern accounts of druidism, that it inculcated a primacy of dignity and jurisdiction, of so much consequence, as to occasion frequent dissensions, and sometimes bloody wars. For it never can with any degree of probability be inferred, that druidism, which, in fact, was the very soul of Celtic society, should have passed from Gaul, and in its western progress have gradually traversed the island of Britain, and established in its western extremity the chief seat and center of its superstition, so as to fix to this spot the pre-eminent dignity of the sacred island. Be it then once for all acknowledged, that the ancient Irish annals are substantially true, when they simply narrate their original population from the Levant, their primeval institutions, and their preservation and transmission to a remote posterity, not only from the intrinsic evidence of their probability, but from the extrinsic proofs of the facts and circumstances, which tend to corroborate and confirm the thesis.

Scotland
colonized
from Ire-
land.

The question agitated more by modern than ancient writers, upon the priority of colonization, between Ireland and Scotland, almost goes the whole length of deciding the controversy, about the origin

of druidism, which is allowed on all hands to have prevailed amidst the earliest inhabitants of these islands, consequently to have proceeded with colonization from one to the other.

It would be useless to refer to the authority of the Irish annals themselves, although no other annals of any antiquity or authority could be cited to contradict them. We shall rest contented in quoting authors, who pre-existed any controversy upon the subject; they will be admitted free from partiality or bias. Orosius, a Spanish priest, who in the fifth century wrote a history of the Miseries of Mankind, in seven books, at the suggestion of St. Augustine, says, that Ireland was inhabited by the nations of the Scots *. Venerable Bede, in the eighth century, born and living his whole life on the borders of Scotland, says, that Ireland is properly the original country of the Scots †. Many intermediate authors speak the same language: but we shall close with Buchanan, who (being a Scot or Caledonian writer, possessed of much native partiality, he will be admitted on such a question above all exception) says, that all the inhabitants of Ireland were originally called Scots, as Orosius testifies; and our annals give an account, that the Scots of Ireland passed over more than once into Scotland ‡. Independently then of Irish history, it

Mona called the sacred island.

* Oros. l. i. c. 2. *Hybernia Scotorum gentibus colitur.*

† Hist. Ang. l. i. c. 1. *Hibernia propria Scotorum patria est.*

‡ *Scoti Hibernie omnes habitatores initio vocabantur, ut indicat Orosius, nec semel Scotorum ex Hibernia transitum in Albaniam actum nostri annales referunt.* With this agree the Irish annals.

appears evident from the authority of other credible historians, that colonization moved eastward from Ireland to Britain; and as druidism, which was the religion of these colonists, proceeded in the same direction into Gaul, must it not be naturally inferred, that Mona, a romantic sequestered situation, peculiarly fitted to the mystic spirit of druidism *, was the most likely spot for the first Irish druids to have settled and continued in, as their primeval and chief seat, and that it received from that circumstance the appellation of the sacred island.

Ogham of
the an-
cient druids

Two powerful demonstrations of the general and substantial authenticity of the ancient Irish history are to be drawn from the still visible relicts of the early druidical institutions in this country; both of which have lately enriched the truly valuable *Collectanea de rebus Hybernicis* of the learned General Vallancey †. These are the druidical use of the Ogham character, and the Caberic rites. In confirmation of what he had before said, to prove that the Irish druids had a sacred or mystic character, in which they committed to writing those things, which it was their system and policy to keep from the knowledge of the laity, he has given twenty-one prints of monumen-

* These and several other considerations upon the ancient traditions of Geoffry of Monmouth of the Storehenge obelisks having been transported from Ireland, brought the ingenious Dr. Cambell to this conclusion: *The moral of this fable, if it has any, seems to be, that druidism was introduced into Ireland from Scythia, and into Britain from Ireland.*—Survey of the South of Ireland, 228.

† Vol. vi. pag. ii.

tal and other stones, which have been lately discovered in Ireland, with ogham inscriptions still in a perfectly legible state*. Dr. Warner, after Dr. Blackwell and others, gives a very explicit account of the nature and use of these ogham characters†. “There is a passage in the enquiry into the life of Homer, which confirms this account of the Irish druids. The polite and ingenious author of that work, speaking of the ancient kingdoms of Assyria, Egypt, and Phœnicia, tells us, that a great part of the administration having been brought into the hands of the sacred order, they took all possible methods to keep up their authority, and aimed at nothing more than the raising their reputation for wisdom and knowledge. This rendered them at first envious of their discoveries, and then at pains to find out methods, how to transmit them to their descendants without imparting them to the vulgar. Here then was the origin of allegory and fable; nor did they stop at this, but as a second wrapper, and a remedy against the growing knowledge of the country, they invented or borrowed a new character for writing these allegories, which they called holy letters, because they must be known by none but the priests, nor used by them, but on divine matters. It is true, there was as yet no separation of wisdom: the philosopher and the divine, the legisla-

* Models of the ogham or bardic characters may be seen in Parson's remains of Japhet, Dr. Ledwich, Mr. Davies, and other books, which they refer to, in which may be seen much curious learning about these very ancient characters.

† Vol. 1. p. 63.

tor and the poet, were all united in the same person; and silence and superstition made a necessary part of their institutions. It hath already been observed, that the Celtiberi who came into Ireland from Spain, had an early commerce with the Phœnicians, whose druids Doctor Blackwell speaks of in this passage; and from them this custom, and this art of writing, practised by the druids neither of Gaul nor Britain, might be derived. That this custom was in Ireland, is further confirmed by Ware, who says, that, besides the vulgar character, the ancient Irish used divers occult forms and arts of writing, which they called ogham, wherein they write their several concerns, of which character he found very much in an ancient parchment book which he had *."

Cabiric
mysteries.

Of all the religious ceremonies or mysteries of idolatrous cult, the Cabiria were the most ancient. They are mentioned by the oldest Greek writers† as religious feasts celebrated at Thebes in Lemnos, and especially in Samothracia, in honour of the Cabiric or great and powerful gods: they are spoken of as being prior even

* Ogham is the name of the sacred alphabet of the Irish, and signifies letters, learning, language, wisdom; and the learned Vallancey observes, Cadmus erected a temple in Bœotia to Oca, as the goddess of wisdom. Besides many palpable references to other ancient authors, referring to ogham inscriptions, we shall close the subject by reference to the ogham inscription on Conan's tomb on Mount Callan, in the county of Clare, which has it *oca*; the original being translated from the Irish, means *Long let him lie on the brink of this lake, beneath this oca, favourite of the sacred*.—*Adm bo socc aj loc sam oca cifa dil ref.*

† Diod. Sic. l. v.

to the time of Jupiter, who is said to have restored them. What stamps them with the most unerring badge of great antiquity, is their being mentioned by Sanchoniatho, as particularly worshipped by the Phœnicians 1300 years before the christian æra, and before the actual formation of the Grecian mythology. No wonder then that the Cabirean festivals should have travelled with the Phœnician colonists cotemporary with Sanchoniatho to Ireland, in which they made a permanent settlement. Nor will it appear strange to the reflecting observer, that although, in process of time, these Cabirean rites should amongst the fabulous Greeks have been embellished or disguised by the introduction of their more recent deities, yet they remained with the Irish, as they were first imported by those, to whom the Grecian mythology was unknown. These traces of the Cabiric rites to such high antiquity illustrate what the indefatigable and scientific Vallancey has latterly added to his valuable elucubrations*.

“Artemidorus is my authority, that the ancients knew of the Cabiric mysteries being established in Ireland. There is an island,” says he, “near Britain, in which the sacred rites of Ceres and Proserpine are observed, as in Samothrace.” (Quoted by Strabo, lib. iv. p. 191.) On which Bochart observes, “These islanders could not have been instructed in these rites by the Greeks, for Artemidorus wrote in the age of Ptolemæus Lathyrus, ; at which time, every school-boy

Great antiquity of the Cabiric rites.

* Coll. part vi. ch. x. Of the Dioscuri and Cabiri, and the Cabiric or Mythratic laws in Ireland.

knows, the Greeks had not navigated to the British isles, and therefore the rites of the Cabiri must have been introduced there by the Phœnicians." (Geogr. Sacr. p. 650.) "And," adds the same author, "Orpheus, or rather Onomacritus, indeed mentions Ireland, but he learned the name and site of it from the Phœnicians; the Greeks had not at that time sailed into those seas. Onomacritus lived 560 years before Christ. Polybius, who lived but 124 before Christ, acknowledges they knew nothing of the northern nations. *Itaque multa potuisse illis esse perspecta de occidentalis oceani insulis quæ Polybius ignoraverit.*"

Eleusynian
mysteries.

It must be remarked, that both Greeks and Romans affected to speak of the religious rites and ceremonies of other nations with immediate reference to their own, and in the names of their own deities. What Artemidorus then says of the rites of Ceres and Proserpine being known in Ireland, obviously means no more, than that these rites, which amongst the Greeks were known and practised in honour of Ceres and her daughter Proserpine, were also observed in this western island; thereby referring to those most ancient rites, which were called by preeminence the *mysteries*; and by the Greeks, from the place of their celebration, *Eleusynian*. They were holden in such dread estimation by the ancient Greeks, that if any person divulged them, the vengeance of the gods was sure to light on the guilty head, and no one would on that account remain either under the same roof or in the same vessel with the offender. To these mystic and dark rites Virgil alludes in the sixth book of his

Æneid, and strongly expresses the impenetrable secrecy with which they were believed in his days to have been enveloped from the earliest times.

Cumæa * Sibylla

Horrendas canit ambages, antroque remugit

Obscuris vera involvens.

* Virgil's connecting these sacred mysteries with the Cumæan Sibyll, carries with it a very strong inference of the ceremonies or mystic rites alluded to pre-existing the time of the Grecian mythology : and this will well account for the existence of them in Ireland without any tincture or admixture of the Grecian fable, or the obscenities, with which their observance was latterly contaminated. Ceres and Proserpine are not mentioned in the Irish metrical annals, however they superabound with poetical fancy and allegory ; it was, according to Virgil, the stile of the day both to write in verse, and wrap up truth in mystery, *obscuris vera involvens*. It was one amongst the few singularities of the learned Dr. Prideaux, to explode the authenticity of the Sibyll's prophecies, and to regard them as pious fictions of the early christians to strengthen their arguments against the heathens. Without entering upon the controversy, which would necessarily run into great length, it will not be irrelevant to the scope of this Dissertation first to remark, that this charge of forgery (however piously intended) is too serious to be lightly adopted. The most learned fathers of the primitive church are unanimous in urging their authenticity : as Justin, who suffered martyrdom, A. D. 163, in his Apology for the Christians ; Origen against Celsus ; Arnobius, and his scholar Lactantius, against the Gentiles ; St. Cyrill against Julian the apostate ; St. Augustine in his City of God ; Eusebius, Constantine the emperor, and several others. The modern Pyrrhonism concerning the Sibyll's prophecies, is but the revival of the old pagan opposition to christianity ; and as the Emperor Constantine, in a Latin oration, which he wrote to a convention of prelates, undertook to prove their authenticity against

The Cumæan Sibyll.

When we fully reflect upon the elaborate pains, which the emperor Constantine submitted to in proving

the old antichristian heathens, we shall refer to his arguments as being equally conclusive against their antichristian imitators. The whole oration is to be seen in Eusebius, l. iv. c. 32. First, They could not have been forged by christians, or made after the nativity of Christ, because Marcus Varro, who lived near 100 years before Our Blessed Lord, makes large mention of their predictions, and (as does Fenestella and other heathen writers) affirms, that they were gathered by the Romans from all parts of the world, and laid up with diligence and great reverence in the capitol under the immediate custody of the high priest, and other officers called the fifteen. Secondly, because the Sibylla Erythrea (called afterwards the Cumæan) testified of herself, that she lived about 600 years after the flood of Noah; and her countryman Appollodorus Erythræus, as well as Varro, reported, that she lived before the siege of Troy; and amongst the works of Cicero extant at that time, was a translation into Latin verses of the famous acrostic lines of the Cumæan Sibyll, predicting the birth of Our Lord Christ; and Cicero was killed nearly forty years before Christ was born. Thirdly, because Cicero in several of his works, as in his letters to Lentulus and De Divinatione, l. ii. makes very explicit mention of these predictions. Fourthly, because Augustus, before Christ was born, had, according to Suetonius, such reverence for them, as to put them into closer custody under the altar of Apollo, on the hill Palatine, where no one without special licence could have access to them, which as a special favour was allowed to Virgil; and from this inspection did he write his famous eclogue Pollio. *Ultima Cumæi venit jam carminis, ætas*; and though the predictions of this Sibyll contained truths, which the pagan poet did not see the force of, every christian reader must admit,

Te duce, si qua manent sceleris vestigia nostri,
Irrita perpetuâ solvent formidine terras.

That is, Thou being our leader or captain, the remnant of our sins

to his council of bishops, and to the whole empire the genuine authority of this Cumæan Sibyll's predictions, and that he was so far from considering her as an idolatress or magician, that he held her in the highest veneration, as an inspired favourite of heaven ; we shall the more readily reconcile with truth the report of Justin the Martyr, who asserts, that she was of Babylonish descent. No author relates either the time or the occasion of her passing out of Asia to Cumæ in Italy. The appellation of Cumæan may have been given to this Ærithrean Sibyll, not from the place of her residence, but from her prophecies being there known or preserved, or from her worship having been there instituted or encouraged ; for the Sibylls were worshipped in many places from very early times.

If the first druids, who went over to Ireland directly or indirectly from Asia, carried with them these ancient rites or ceremonies, the earlier the period was,

shall be made void or taken away, and the world shall be delivered for ever from fear for the same. Greater weight is due to the arguments of this learned and respectable emperor, than to Dr. Prideaux or any Pyrrhonite, for the following reasons : First, He only rests his argument upon the authority of authors who pre-existed christianity. Second, His arguments are addressed to a council of learned prelates. Third, Being emperor, he commanded access to all records and authorities then existing. Fourth, He was attended by the most learned men of his day, such as Lactantius, the preceptor to his son Crispus ; and, therefore, he ends his discourse in these remarkable words, " These are the things which fell from heaven into the mind of this virgin to foretell ; for which cause I am induced to account her for blessed, whom our Saviour did vouchsafe to choose for a prophet, to denounce unto the world his holy providence towards us."

at which they were imported, the less likely were they to have been polluted by polytheism, or any of those horrid and obscene corruptions, which idolatry afterwards introduced into them. It is observable, that the druidism of the ancient Irish has utterly escaped the traduction, obloquy, and virulence of the Greeks and Romans : because neither of those nations ever attempted the conquest of that island, and consequently had not experienced the powerful influence, which their order, rank, and doctrines produced upon their countrymen in maintaining their liberties against all invaders.

Lucan's
picture of
druidism.

The fairest account of druidism from a Roman pen is given by the poet Lucan*, in his *Pharsalia*. He was peculiarly fitted to handle such a subject, from having written a poem (not now extant) upon the descent of Orpheus into hell; a subject immediately leading to the origin of the oldest mystic rites known amongst

* Et vos barbaricos ritus moremque sinistrum
Sacrorum druidæ positis repetistis ab armis.
Solis nosse Deos et cæli sydera vobis,
Aut solis nescire datum. Nemora alta remotis
Incolitis lucis ; Vobis autoribus, umbræ
Non tacitas Erebi sedes ditisque profundi
Pallida regna petunt : regit idem spiritus artus
Orbe alio : longæ (canitis si cognita,) vitæ
Mors media est. Certè, populi, quos despicit arctos
Felices errore suo, quos ille timorum
Maximus haud urget lethi metus ; inde ruendi
In ferrum mens prona viris, animæque capaces
Martis : et ignavum est redituræ parcere vitæ.

Luc. l. i. *Thers.*

any of the religionists of the pagan world, whether distinguished by the appellation of Cabyræic or Mithræic, Eleusynean, or Cumæan, and which originally were substantially druidical. In the spirit of his day (he wrote under Claudius and Nero) he terms their rites generally barbarous and sinister; admits the druids to be adverse to war; to have the exclusive knowledge (or error, as he must presume) of the high mysteries of the gods and the stars of heaven; they lived in awful groves; and held man's soul should neither visit silent Erebus nor Pluto's hall; that it should live in another world to eternity; that death is but the midway between life and immortality; that these northern people, happy in their error, had no fear of death, the greatest terror to other mortals; that they braved danger with dauntless minds; and were lavish of life, in the hope of resurrection. Lucan was a Spaniard, and meant all the British islands by the *populi quos despicit arctos*. Yet it is observable, that his general opprobrious epithets, *barbaricos ritus moremque sinistrum*, are supported by no specific proof; but on the contrary, the detail contains a body of philosophy and divinity soaring beyond the powers of their proudest men of science. It is a reasonable presumption, that if Lucan, (he was not only an orator and philosopher, but a poet,) could consistently with truth have fixed the druids, whom it was the fashion of his day to decry, hate, and persecute, with any of the enormities laid to their charge by other writers more ignorant of their tenets, he would not have refrained from introducing them into his poem.

Paganism of
the ancient
Irish.

The last observation upon the Cumæan Sybill, which throws any light upon the ancient history of Ireland is, that she lived in Asia about 600 years after the flood. This precisely answers the time; at which the Partholian race, according to the Irish chroniclers, ceased. They landed upon the island 300 years after the flood, and became extinguished after having possessed it for 300 years more. It then remained uninhabited for 30 years. Then the Clana Neimbedt, or the Nemedian race, landed on their coasts; who, after having governed the island 217 years, were succeeded by the Firbolgs; they reigned 36 years, and were subdued by the Tuatha de Danans, who had reigned 197, when the Milesian expedition landed in Ireland 1080 years after Noah's flood*. Well, then, may the purity of the doctrines and customs, specifically attributed to the druids by Lucan, be reconciled with the time and place, at which the Erythrean Sibyll existed, and from which certain colonists emigrated into Ireland. Some objections to this hypothesis are removed by Dr. Warner's assertion †, that the patriarchal way of worship, according to the old historians of Ireland, lasted no longer there, than to the 100th year after the arrival of the Spanish colony, when, in conformity with the customs of other nations, idolatry was introduced. In these days of heathenism, they worshipped Belus, Bel, or Baal, as we have observed, as god of the sun or fire, and some gods of particular mountains and rivers. But no traces of the

* Keat. p. 89.

† Vol. i. p. 62.

fabulous deities of Greece or Rome are discoverable throughout the ancient history of Ireland, a circumstance of itself strong evidence of its superior antiquity.

It would be endless to enter into the nature of proofs arising out of the frequent and recent discoveries, which for any other purpose, than that of establishing the early and oriental origin of the Irish nation, would be unimportant. The learned and instructive Vallancey says, that the brazen swords, which are found in Ireland, and those found at Cannæ, some of which are in the British Museum, and supposed to be Carthaginian, are of the same form, and the substance of both is a composition exactly similar. The various implements or utensils of familiar life and religious service, and the ornaments of dress and attire male and female in the precious metals, answer in the most minute particulars both as to description, name, and use, with those which evidently were in remote antiquity; and some, even to this day, are in use with the * Persian and other oriental nations. Many are the relicts or monuments at this hour existing, which prove the ancient knowledge of the Irish in astronomy and astrology: but, says General Vallancey †, if a fragment were not to be found, the living language of the day, a language more than 3000

Other
proofs of
Irish anti-
quity.

* Boxborne, a curious investigator of antiquity, who wrote in the beginning of the 17th century, says, *Perse autem sunt Scythæ.*

† Col. de Reb. Hyb. vol. vi. p. 312. From amidst a most learned and interesting dissertation demonstrating the knowledge of the

years old, is sufficient to prove, that they are Aire coti (noble shepherds), or Indo Scythæ of Dionysius who, under the name of Phœni or Phœnice, came to the western islands, the Cuthi of the learned Bryant. To the more curious investigators of this scientific proof of the antiquity of the Irish nation, we earnestly refer to the instructive part of the Collectanea, and

Chaldean astronomy amongst the ancient Irish, General Vallancey informs us (p. 314.), that "he had not been landed a week in Ireland from Gibraltar, where he had studied the Hebrew and Chaldaic under Jews of various countries and denominations, when he heard a peasant girl say to a boor standing by her, *feach maddih nagh!* (behold the morning star!) pointing to the planet Venus, the *maddina nag* of the Chaldeans. That on a starry night, as he was travelling, a peasant pointed to and explained the constellation Orion, calling it *Comai* (the armed king), clearly the Cimah of Job, which the learned Costard asserts to be the constellation Orion. And the reader, says he, may learn from this circumstance, with what eagerness he was impelled to study the Irish language."

I cannot here forbear contrasting the sentiments of Dr. Campbell concerning the learned Vallancey, with the illiberal and coarse treatment, which that respectable character has met with from Dr. Ledwich. One could almost imagine, that this reverend antiquarian suspected that the general occasionally prayed to St. Patrick. "Sur. of the So. of Ireland, 66. "Several instances of this I have been favoured with by Major Vallancey, a gentleman whose acquaintance alone is worth a journey to Ireland. And you will not be displeased, when I tell you, that he is our countryman, was bred at Eaton, and is now engineer-general of Ireland. At an age, when words and other materials of knowledge are generally collected, he betook himself to the study of the Irish language with a diligence so successful, that he soon outstripped his teachers. To him we are indebted for the best grammar of this language."

the authors there cited. This subject is too profound to be touched lightly, and too important to be passed unnoticed.

Circumstances in themselves trivial often assume consequence from their application to an object of importance. It is of little or no moment, whether any and what individuals played on musical instruments 3000 years ago in Ireland. Their chronicles undoubtedly assure us, there were distinguished families of musicians among them; and that musical accomplishments were holden in the highest estimation by the nation, and rewarded by hereditary settlements in land*. This was a peculiarity unknown to any other European nation in those early times. Every vestige therefore of their musical genius and habits tends powerfully to authenticate the annals which record the usage; and the national and

Ancient encouragement of music.

* It was the high fashion in the days of Camden for every English writer to decry the Irish. Even his stern regard for truth in historical disquisitions was not altogether proof against the courtly bias. His authority therefore in favor of Ireland is above all exception. An Irish poet did not inaptly say of him,

Periustras Anglos oculis Cambdene duobus,
Uno oculo Scotas, cæcus Hybernigenas.

His account of these peculiar customs in Ireland, is, *Habent enim hi magnates suos juridicos, quos brehones vocant, suos historicos, qui res suas describunt, medicos, poetas, quos bardos vocant, et Cytharodos et certa et singule familie, &c.* "These noblemen have their lawyers, whom they call brehons; their historians, who rehearse their exploits; their physicians; their poets, whom they call bards, and musicians, and all of a certain and distinct family;

exclusive retention of the use and skill in playing upon the most ancient instruments, comes nearly to demonstration, that the nation, in which they are thus early traced, preexisted those nations, into which they were more lately introduced, or to which they were scarcely known. That the profession of music was in the remotest of times honourable, and confined to particular families, we have the authority of the inspired penman, who in the very concise epitome which he has left us of antediluvian names, usages, and incidents, has recorded, that Lamech's second son, Jubal, was the father of all such as handled the harp and the organ. It is, then, a sure badge of the high antiquity of a people, whenever it can be proved to have encouraged proficiency upon these instruments, as an honorable attainment. The early invention of cord and wind instruments carries a proof of the civilization and refinement of the first inhabitants of the earth, and reconciles to the mind the fact of the ornamental as well as useful arts having been encouraged by our earliest ancestry.

Antiquity
of the bag-
pipe.

The ancient and peculiar use of the harp in Ireland is emblazoned to perpetuity in the national arms. There is not certainly the like notorious proof of their use of

that is, the brehons were of one tribe and name, their historians of another, and so of the rest, who instruct their children and relations in their several arts and professions; and they are always their successors, to whom they leave the estates and revenues assigned them." Even the avowed traducer of the Irish Cambrensis admits, that *of all the nations within our knowledge, this is beyond comparison the first in musical composition.*

the organ; but when it is considered, that the bagpipe was the first wind instrument, that answers the description of the organ*, and it is beyond question, that the harp and the bagpipe are the two musical instruments, which can be traced to the remotest period, it falls little short of demonstration, that the nation, in which its habitual use can be immemorially established, has an uncontrovertible claim to the highest antiquity. Stanihurst is one of the British writers, of whose infidelity and traductions the Irish complain: his authority, therefore, for any point, that goes to establish the antiquity of the Irish nation, cannot be reasonably objected to by the Pyrrhonites, who make common cause with every author professing to derogate from the antiquity of their nation, and the authenticity of their annals. This author between 200 and 300 years ago gives a very quaint and elaborate description of a bagpipe, as an instrument at that time hardly known elsewhere than in Ireland; in which that people had from time immemorial singularly delighted; and the

* The invention of the bagpipe is by some derived from Jubal, who is called in Scripture *Pater canentium organo et cithard*. But as most inventions of remote antiquity, from the corruptions of idolatry (the diabolical art of which ever was to conceal and suppress the true history of the creation of man, and the progress of religion and population) degenerated into fable; so, from the establishment of the Grecian mythology, the invention of the bagpipe was successively attributed to Pan, Mercury, Faunus, Marsyas, and the young Sicilian Daphnos. It is universally allowed to have been used in times of the highest antiquity, to celebrate the praises of heroes and great men at sacrifices, feasts, combats, funerals, &c.

sound of which excited them, as the trumpet did other nations, to martial ardour*.

Profession
of music
honorable
in the time
of Moses.

Moses was cotemporary with Fenúsa Pharsa, or Phœnius, whom the Milesians claim as the head or founder of their race; and although the sacred penmen wrote under the influence or guidance of divine inspiration, yet they expressed themselves according to the capacity, comprehension, and general usage of the people, amongst whom they wrote. It is therefore to be presumed, that in the time of Moses the skill of handling the harp and the organ was an honourable and lucrative attainment, and confined to particular families; and therefore the pedigree or genealogy of those, who played on or sung to the harp and organ, was traced by Moses from Jubal. When in the same chapter mention is made of Tubalcaine, no more is said of him, than that he was an artificer in iron and brass; which calling, though it required ingenuity, and might have been lucrative,

* *Hoc genus systri apud Hybernios, bellicæ virtutis cotem esse constat. Nam ut alii milites tubarum sono, ita isti hujus clangore ad pugnandum ardenter incenduntur. Stan. de Reb. Hyb. p. 40.* This author, says Ware, wrote after Giraldus Cambrensis, and knew nothing of the Irish language. He was uncle to Archbishop Usher; was brought up at the University college, Oxford; he afterwards went over to the church of Rome, in which he took orders. O'Sullivan says (l. 1. c. 4.) that seeing his book condemned by every one, and it having been publicly burnt by order of the Inquisition in Portugal, he publicly declared his intention of retracting his false by the publication of a true history of Ireland. He died, however, without having effected it. Vid. Har. Script. Hyb. vol. ii. c. 13.; and 1 Macgeoghegan, p. 50.

was not honorable, or confined to particular families, as the profession of a musician appears then to have been. Emigrants or colonists from a country, in which these usages prevailed, must have carried the usages with them. If they settled in an island, which was not broken in upon by invasion or foreign intercourse, they were likely to keep up their customs and institutions longer than the mother-country, from which they were exported.

Before we take leave of the external proofs of the ancient history of Ireland, it will not be irrelevant to the general scope of this Dissertation, to close with a general remark upon the characters, in which these ancient metrical annals are written. They are evidently different from the Roman characters, the use of which in Ireland is never even spoken of before the introduction of the christian religion in the time of St. Patrick *. Upon this subject, all that can with any plausibility be submitted to the curious reader, must be extracted from those writers, who profess to know and

Ancient
Irish character.

* “ When St. Patrick had made a number of proselytes, there was a necessity to have the priesthood encreased; for the few, who accompanied him upon this occasion, could not be sufficient to stem the torrent of opposition from the pagan priests and the contumacy of the common people every where. It was, therefore, highly expedient to ordain many priests; and the sooner they were prepared for it, the work would be certainly the more prosperously effected. Therefore, as it is well known, the service of the church was then performed in the Latin tongue, it became absolutely necessary to instruct them in that tongue, and consequently in the letters proper to it. This was the reason of his having recommended the Ab-

agree with each other in what they say of their knowledge of the Irish language *. “ It is well known,” says Dr. Parsons, “ that the Irish have preserved their letters and orthography entirely the same it ever was, without any change † to this day, in the manuscripts of the most ancient as well as the most modern times. And hence it is, that their written language seems to differ greatly from what they speak ; because they soften or abridge the greatest part of it in the course of conversation. This makes the study of their manuscripts certain.” It may be added, that it fixes the annals written in this character with a higher degree of antiquity, than the period at which the Roman character was introduced. The erudite General Vallancey speaking of an ancient Irish manuscript written in the old Irish character, says, “ ‡ Chance at length threw into my hands a small treatise of astronomy in Irish. It was sent to me for the translation of certain passages by my ingenious and learned friend, the late

cedarium ; and not because they stood in any need of letters to write in their own language.” Rem. of Japh. 409, and *ibid.* 405. “ The Irish amanuenses wrote out the Latin Gospels in their own characters, of which I have seen several copies, and very finely executed.”

* Rem. of Japh. p. 255.

† Herodotus, about 400 years before the birth of Christ, and above 1000 years after the admitted prevalence of the Pelasgian tongue (the Pelasgians were a tribe of the Scythian *nomades*, or shepherds), seems to attribute the peculiarity of immutability to that, which was no other, than the Scythian language. (Clio, lvii.) “ These circumstances induce us to believe, that their language has experienced no change.”

‡ Col. de Reb. Hyb. vol. vi. 317.

Mr. Astle, author of the *Origin of Alphabetical Writing*, since which time many other fragments have come into my possession. This manuscript had been in the hands of Dr. Parsons, author of the *Remains of Japhet*, as I found by the following letter between the sheets of the astronomical treatise."

" *Red Lion Square, June 6, 1795.*

" DEAR SIR,

" I have looked over your curious manuscript with great pleasure, and find it to be very valuable on several accounts: first, for its antiquity, as it was certainly written within the century of the conversion of the people to Christianity; for this is the most pure and ancient character of the Magogian tongue, from which the Greek and every other alphabet of Europe had its risè."

Mr. Davies * traces these characters up to a period, which naturally accounts for the antiquity of character, in which the Irish annals were written. He quotes Mela, the Spaniard, as making the Turditani, his countrymen, a branch of the Celtic stock, of whom Strabo said, "these are the wisest of the Iberians. They have letters and written histories of ancient transactions and poems, and laws in verse, as they assert, 6000 years old." Dropping then the hyperbole, it appears, that this people had preserved very ancient letters, which belonged to the Celtic nation, and it has not altogether escaped the notice of the learned, that from

Further
proofs of the
antiquity of
the Irish
character.

* Celt. Res. p. 212

remote antiquity the Celtæ possessed letters not very dissimilar from those of the ancient Greeks. * There are those, who think the druids had ancient characters, which were both elegant and similar to those of the Greeks. For, according to the testimony of Xenophon and Archilochus, the figures of those letters, which Cadmus brought out of Phœnicia into Greece resembled Gaulish rather than Punic or Phœnician characters. We cannot, concludes Mr. Davies, accuse either Xenophon or Archilochus of recording absolute nonsense. They must have meant, that the Gauls or Celtæ, from remote antiquity, even before the supposed æra of Cadmus, had possessed letters, that were similar to those which had been ascribed usually to that celebrated personage. Mr. Astle, and the more learned investigators of this matter attribute the invention of letters to the Pelasgians. They comprised the Celto Scythæ, and are generally admitted to have been the descendants of Japhet, who after the dispersion of nations overran Europe, which more anciently was called Celtica. Mr. Astle pronounces the Etruscan alphabet to be Pelasgian, and cites the authority of Herodotus, that a colony of Pelasgians went by sea from Lydia into Italy, under Thyrenus, and he dates this expedition about A. M. 2011, or 1993 before the birth of Christ †.

* Bucher. *Frs.* p. 183.

† Herodotus says, that the Pelasgian language was called by the Greeks a barbarous tongue, that was spoken by the Athenians, who had originally descended from them, until, by residing in Greece, they learned the Grecian language. He believed it had experienced no change in his days. *Clio.* lvii.

A settled alphabet of this antiquity may well cover or account for annals committed to writing one thousand years later. We are not staggered at Herodotus' account of the use of letters and ships two thousand years before the christian æra: why then recoil at similar accounts in the annals of a nation, which have been preserved ever since in the identical language, which from those days cannot be proved to have undergone any sensible alteration.

It becomes a more important part of our duty to defeat the principle, than to refute the particular theses of the fastidious Pyrrhonites in the matter of Irish antiquity. Their strength rests generally upon mere negation; and where their assertions are positive, they are of that general and indefinite nature, as never to bring the matter in question to a fair issue. Of this description is the assertion, that the accounts of Irish transactions previous to the fifth century of the christian æra, are in great part manifest forgeries fabricated after the introduction of christianity amongst the Irish by monks and other such dreamers. Now after so flippant an assurance, it was to be expected, that the chaff should have been winnowed from the corn; that the forgeries should have been rejected, and the reality and truth admitted. This and all similar admissions, that a great part is fiction, induces the conclusion, that in the whole there is a remnant or relict of what is original and genuine. We agree, that a large portion of the ancient Irish annals is fiction; but we deny it to be the fiction of christian monks, or other such dreamers after the fifth

Deduction
from the
proofs.

Objections
to the au-
thenticity
of the Irish
annals, fu-
tile.

century. We contend, that these fictions are the poetical fancies, flights and embellishments of the original phillids, bards, or minstrels, who composed those metrical annals, which have preserved the original facts of history, however concealed, disguised or misrepresented by their poetry. In fact the partial fiction must have been coeval with the genuine recording of that part of the annals, which is not fiction. If then the fiction be brought down to the christian monks, they also must have feigned the remainder of the story, or have received the truth from others, who preceded them. The real difficulty then is to fix upon the persons, who furnished the monks with the genuine records; for if there be any thing genuine and authentic in them, the whole is not the fiction of a monk or a dreamer: and our thesis is so far admitted. These pyrrhonites lay the fictions at the doors of the monks or Culdees, (*Dei Cultores*,) as they affect to call them, of the middle ages. It will then be obviously admitted, that their fictions were calculated to enhance the superstitious credulity of the early christians: and they retained according to modern pyrrhonism much of the heathen doctrines, and gave credit to St. Patrick for all the thaumaturgic powers attributed to him by his monkish biographers.

The story
of Ireland's
being freed
from veno-
mous crea-
tures.

There prevails at this day a belief amongst the generality of the native Irish, that the clearance of the island from venomous creatures, was owing to the intercession of St. Patrick; whatever therefore might be found in these ancient annals authenticating the fact, would naturally be directed to strengthen their belief

in the miracle of their apostle, whose supereminence it was their sole aim to establish. Now, so far are the ancient annals from attributing this effect to the prayers or miracles of their Christian Apostle, that they trace the effect to a period at least 1700 years prior to the existence of St. Patrick. They inform us, that the son of Niul, who, as has been observed, was settled on the borders of the Red Sea, when Moses carried his people through it, was bitten in the neck whilst asleep by a snake; and that his father despairing of his son's recovery, applied to Moses, of whose miraculous powers in Egypt he had heard, to heal the wound, which he considered deadly from the poisonous quality of the serpent, that had bitten him. That Moses in consideration of his faith, and the good services he had rendered his people, by supplying them with provisions for their journey, prayed to God, and applying his wand to the young prince's neck, healed the wound; but there remained a green spot upon the place, where the bite had been; and Moses at the same time prophesied, that wherever the posterity of the young prince should inhabit, the country should never be infested with any venomous creatures*. That this prediction was fulfilled in the isle of *Crete* (*Candia*), where some of his descendants were still to be found, as well as in Ireland†. We know not whether this antipharmical quality be

* Hence the young prince was afterwards called Goadhal Glas, pronounced Gadelas, Glas meaning green, and Goadhal or Gadel being the proper name; and the Irish were thence called Clans Goadhal, i. e. posterity of Goadhal, or Gadelas.

† Keat. p. 36.

now, or ever were common to the two islands of *Crete* and *Jerna*; but we venture to assert, that however fabulous the incident may appear to a modern reader, yet the fiction or invention of it originated not with those, who studied to extoll the miraculous powers of St. Patrick. But allowing, that this account is reported (though in very high poetic colouring) in a language, to which no precise origin or usage can be affixed, the unbiassed mind naturally draws these necessary conclusions. That whenever this narrative was first committed to writing, the traditions or belief of the writer were, that such persons coexisted as Gadelas and Moses; that they met on the borders of the Red Sea; that serpents were to be found in that country; and that their bite was venomous and mortal: that the two islands (now called Ireland and Candia), were then known; and that in neither of them did such venomous creatures then exist.

The Liag
Fail or
Stone of
Destiny.

Upon the like principle are we to judge of what the Irish annalists relate of the Liag Fail*, the Stone of Destiny, or the Saxum Fatale, as Hector Boethius calls it, which was esteemed an enchanted stone, and was holden in the most superstitious veneration by the Irish. They relate, that it was brought into their country by the colony of Tuatha de Danans; and that the country was thence called *Inis Fail*: that it emitted a most thundering noise whenever any of the royal Scythian race sat upon it to be crowned, as was the custom immediately upon the decease of the former monarch; but

* Keat. p. 2

that it remained silent if the person elected were not of that royal stem. That this stone, like all the heathen oracles, became absolutely mute on the birth of Christ. It continued however in such veneration from its past qualities, that in the year of our Lord 518, Fergus (the first king of Scotland of the Scythian race,) desired his brother Mortough, then king of Ireland, to send this stone to Scotland, that he might be crowned king of that nation upon it, believing that the crown of Scotland would be the more permanent in his family, by reason of the innate virtue it contained. Fergus, as well as his posterity, was crowned upon it. It was kept with great care in the abbey of Schone in Scotland; until Edward I. brought it to Westminster Abbey, and it is now placed under the coronation chair *. We give as little credit to the supernatural qualities of this thundering stone,* as to the whole narrative's being an invention of the monks of the middle ages. We believe, that the superstitious attributes were given to this stone by the heathenish minstrels, in compliment to their monarchs; and we believe, that the substantial truth of the fable was so far correct, that there

* So prevalent was the conviction of some peculiar virtue in this stone, that the following verses have been for centuries current upon it, which from the Irish have been thus translated into latin :

Ni fallat fatum, Scoti, quocunque locatum
Invenient lapidem, regnare tenentur ibidem.

They were englished thus on the accession of the Stuarts to the throne of England, as James the First always boasted of being descended from the Milesian dynasty.

If fate dont fail, where'er you find this stone,
That country must a Scot for monarch own.

was a very ancient stone, upon which the Irish monarchs formerly sat to be crowned ; that there was an Irish monarch of the name of Mortough, about the year 513 ; that his brother Fergus was crowned king of Scotland ; that he was the first king of Scotland of that race ; that at the abbey of Schone the Scotch monarchs were usually inaugurated upon this stone ; and that Edward I. removed it to Westminster Abbey, and it is there usually called Jacob's stone. Let the most prejudiced opposer of the antiquity of Irish history point out the interest, the views, the possible motives, which could have induced the Irish monks of the middle ages to forge or invent a syllable of this whole narrative ? Let the most morose fastidious and eagle-eyed critic select one sentence of it, that bears the internal proof of monkish, (whatever it may of heathenish) ignorance and superstition ?

Traduction
of Ireland
ever coun-
tenanced.

We have referred to some of the more prominent fictions in the ancient history of the Irish, not for the purpose of defending or refuting them, but of furnishing evidence of the historical facts, upon which their annalists have engrafted them. Doctor Ledwich's confident boast of his internal and invincible proofs, that the apostle of Ireland (St. Patrick) and his history are equally fabulous *, would have escaped notice, did it not demonstrate an expectation, (perhaps a practical conviction,) that every depreciation and traduction of the Irish nation, however gross and unwarrantable, would meet countenance and reward, in lieu of merited disgrace and punishment.

* Ledwich's *Antiquities*, p. 66.

This professed, modern and improved pyrrhonian school, though few in number, Ledwich, Carr, and Gordon, rest their whole system in mere negation. Some writers say they, in some of their works within 213 years after St. Patrick's existence, do not mention his name; therefore he never existed. They believe not the miracles recorded of him by his biographers, therefore, conclude they, he never existed. Dr. Ryves, a master in Chancery in 1618, had his doubts about the existence of St. Patrick. He presses them upon Usher and Cambden, * the two great luminaries of British and Irish antiquities; they scout his doubts. Thus master Ryves, discountenanced by the oracular decisions of these eminent men, gave up the pursuit, although his learning enabled him, says Ledwich, to bring it to a fair conclusion. This triumph of hagiography over criticism and erudition, has continued to the present hour. Therefore, infers Ledwich, St. Patrick never existed. Such is the sum of the doctrine of these erudite antiquarians, delegated with a special mission in the 19th century, to negative the historical credit of the last 1400 years.

We undertake not the task of examining or verifying any one of the miracles reported to have been performed by St. Patrick, but simply, whether or no such a man as St. Patrick ever existed. Were it not for the boasted assurances of Dr. Ledwich, that he is a mere fictitious personage, we should have blushed at the idea of undertaking this redundant function of offering

The pyrrhonites deny the existence of St. Patrick.

Sum of proofs against St. Patrick's existence.

* Ledwich's *Antiquities*, p. 58.

proofs of his existence. The sum total of the proofs of this self-confident antiquarian against St. Patrick's existence in the fifth century, and his having preached the christian gospel to the Irish, is compressible into a very narrow compass. It is limited to the silence of Venerable Bede in his history of England; the doubts of master Ryves; the hardy assurances of Dr. Ledwich; the zealous adoption of these bold denials by Mr. Gordon, who lays claim to no antiquarian knowledge; and the servile devotion of Sir John Carr, the itinerant knight, of whose Tour through Ireland the most authentic part is his formal disclaimer of any knowledge or judgment in the antiquities of the country which he traversed.

Bede's silence about St. Patrick.

The first of these objections founded in the silence of Venerable Bede, who lived within two centuries of St. Patrick, is removed by remarking, that the subject of the ecclesiastical history of the English nation would rather check than promote the venerable author's travelling out of his own into the ecclesiastical history of another country, in any matter which was not common to the history of that nation (*Gentis Anglorum*) which he had in hand. But where circumstances occurred affecting both countries, we find that old Saxon author speaking faithfully of Ireland, as he does of his own country. This venerable author, amongst the number of works which he has left to posterity *, wrote a martyrologe for every day

* Camden says of this author, "The reverend Bede, whom we may more easily admire than sufficiently praise for his profound learning in a most barbarous age." *Remains of a large Work*

in the year, in which he mentions the death of St. Patrick, confessor in (Scotia) Ireland. Father Soller,

concerning Britain, 1605, 4to. p. 183. Pits, whose work upon the famous English writers was published at Paris, 1619, says (p. 130), that he was so well-versed in the several branches of learning, that Europe scarcely ever produced a greater scholar in all respects; and that even, whilst he was living, his writings were of so great authority, that by a council in England, afterwards approved by the whole church, they were ordered to be publicly read and chanted (as they still are, says Pits) in the solemn service of the church. Selden, Spelman, Stillingfleet, and others are equally loud in commendation of this author. Bishop Nicholson also commends him strongly; and says, he must be pardoned for stuffing his writings here and there with thumping miracles, the natural product of the zeal and ignorance of his age. He also charges him with too much partiality to the Saxons. Pits enumerates, as published amongst Bede's works, besides *Martyrologium per singulos dies totius anni*, the following which are the works of Probus, who, according to Ware, wrote in the tenth century, *Ir. Writ. p. 19.*; *Vitam St. Patricii Episcopi Librum Unum*; *St. Patricius, qui et Sochet*; *De Miraculis et obitu ejusdem Librum Unum Domini et Apostolici viri Patris Nostri Patricii* (p. 136). Pits composed his work in the reign of Elizabeth, though it were only published some years after his death, viz. A. D. 1619. As to Bede's Martyrologe, Dr. Ledwich endeavours to mislead and misrepresent. He affects to commend Bollandus and Cave, and misquotes them both in adducing their authorities against the authenticity of Bede's Martyrologe. The words of Cave (*Hist. Lit. p. 403.*) are, "which work (namely, the Martyrologe) he testifies in the appendix to his Ecclesiastical History was composed by himself (Bede). But some have heretofore remarked, that what is now handed about has been disfigured by frequent interpolations of others. Concerning this Martyrologe, Molanus, Rosweyd, and particularly Bollandus and his coadjutors (*συνεργοι*) may be consulted; in their preface to Jan. c. 4. and Prolog. to the month of March, T. 11. § v. *et seq.*

the most erudite critic, that ever handled the subject of martyrologies, says, that the edition of Bede's

where they profess to give the genuine Martyrologe of Bede from various ancient manuscripts (so they would have us believe). There appeared also separately an interpolated Martyrologe of Bede, at Antwerp, 1564." These words of Cave evidently deny not the genuineness of that Martyrologe of Bede (which mentions St. Patrick). The Bollandists assume credit for giving the genuine work of Bede. Now, if any persons were likely to have acquired authentic documents upon this subject, they were the Bollandists. This was a permanent and select committee of four of the most learned of the society of Jesuits, who resided at the professed house at Antwerp. They were nominated by the General of that order to devote their whole time to the collection and arrangement of the documents, which form that immense work of Hagiography, which, from the first of January down to the ninth of October, has swelled to fifty volumes in folio. The work goes under the name of the Bollandists, from father Bolland, the first that was placed at the head of the institution. Rosweyde, to whom Cave refers, was the first, who conceived and planned this great and useful work; he was a native of Utrecht, and died in 1629, and the next year Bolland commenced the work. Molanus published an edition of Usuard's Martyrologe, which was so much esteemed as to have been adopted and used as the Roman Martyrologe. It is obvious, that the aggregated contributions of so learned and extensive a body to one work, must have furnished more materials, document, and information, than the industry and learning of any individual could attain. The last volume was published in 1786; and the abolition of the order of Jesuits put a stop to this valuable work. Bede thus describes his own Martyrologe of the birth-days of the holy martyrs, "in which I have studied diligently to note all that I could find, not only on what day, but also in what manner of combat, and under what judge, they overcame the world." This minute description of his own Martyrologe, the candid antiquarian Dr. Ledwich palms upon his reader in these words: "Whether he (Bede) ever composed such a work is very doubtful, as he barely hints at it in one of his com-

Martyrologe, published by Papebroch (one of the Bollandists) was more correct, than that published by Plantin. But he and the other learned authors, although they refer to interpolations in Bede, confine themselves to the introduction of some saints, that lived after the days of Bede, as did Florus of Lyons. Dr. Ledwich, the avowed oppugner of the existence of St. Patrick, admits, *that the Roman martyrology is the oldest, in which we find the name of our apostle*†. Bede died in the year 735; and he informs us, in the fifty-ninth year of his age, that he had then written his Martyrologe; and his biographers fix this to the year 731. The accurate Fleury puts the death of St. Patrick in the year 460. Less than two centuries, therefore, intervened between the death of St. Patrick and the publication of Bede's Martyrologe. Florus's Martyrologe, which was written about 830, is, according to Soller, but an augmentation of Bede.

The greater antiquity of the Roman martyrologe, Proofs of St. Patrick's existence before Bede draws the death and commemoration of St. Patrick to closer approximation. And as no fixed period has

positions !!!" In the second volume for March, Prol. xiv. where the Bollandists give Bede's Martyrologe verbatim, are contained these few simple words, which head the article for 17th of March. *In Scotiâ S. Patricii Confessoris.*

† Led. Ant. p. 69. Father Soller published a superb and very learned folio edition of Ussard's Martyrologe at Antwerp, A. D. 1714; in which, for the 17th of March, is commemorated St. Patrick, in these words (p. 159): *In Scotia natalis Sancti Patricii episcopi et confessoris qui primus ibidem Christum evangelizavit.*

been given to the publication of the Roman martyrologe, though we find its use traced up to the sixth century, the conclusion is, that the existence of this apostle in Ireland is established by authority prior to that of Venerable Bede. Many of the foreign critics have spoken with strong and very proper severity of the incredible legends of St. Patrick; but the fables which enthusiastic ignorance, or pious credulity, have introduced into the legendary lives of this holy man, no more disprove his existence, than the fictions of the ancient phillids or bards negative the succession of the Milesian race of sovereigns. The judicious Tillemont *, in his notes to the life of St. Patrick, says, that seeing no solid ground for crediting the marvellous stories of his life, as reported by his biographers, he confines himself to St. Patrick's letter to Corotic, which is generally esteemed genuine and authentic; and to his confessions, which the Bollandists also believe to have been written as a sketch of his own biography by the Saint himself. Admitting, therefore, Dr. Ledwich's quotation from the Bollandists, that the general matter of the life of St. Patrick was put together by most fabulous authors, and that none of it was compiled before the twelfth century †, yet the writing of his life by the Bollandists, and by Tillemont (as well as by Baronius ‡, Fleury, and numerous

* Vol. xvi. p. 78.

† *Ab auctoribus fabulosissimis consarcinata, nec ulla sæculo duodecimo priora.*

‡ We mention Baronius as a person, who had more opportunity than any other author, that ever wrote upon the mission of St.

other both critical and censorious authors), proves to demonstration, that these modern biographists believed in his existence, as much as they discredited the legendary tales of his too credulous biographers of the middle ages. None of them could believe he had written letters to the excommunicated Prince Corotic, or penned his own confessions, had they disbelieved his existence.

To these foreign testimonies of St. Patrick's existence let us add the authority of the most respectable of our native writers, archbishop Usher, Cambden, Ware, Spelman, Stillingfleet, and an host of more mo-

British testimonies of St. Patrick's existence.

Patrick, to verify the fact of his existence, and of his having been sent by pope Celestin from Rome, to complete the conversion of the Irish, which had been begun by St. Palladius, whom this pope had sent into Britain for the particular purpose of opposing the Pelagian heresy, before he proceeded upon his further evangelical labours, at the commencement of which he died.—*“Ipso autem eâ in legatione vitâ functo, cum in Hyberniam quoque evangelium intulisset, Patricius cæptum ab eo opus absolvit.”* Bar. l. v. p. 555. Ep. a Ludov. Aurelio. His Ecclesiastical Annals are comprized in twelve large folio volumes, each word of which was written in the cardinal's own hand writing, without the aid of an amanuensis. He had every opportunity of verifying these facts, having for many years had the care of the library of the Holy See. The well-earned eulogy of our erudite and critical Cave, places his authority beyond the touch of the sceptic Sciologists of these days of infidelity. *“In hoc opere præclarè quidem de Antiquitate Ecclesiasticâ meruit. Me certe ex eo non parum profecisse haud invitus agnosco.* Prolog. xxii. This honourable testimony of an English divine is most credible and creditable to both parties, especially as the object of the eulogy is complained of, for manifesting too intense a bias to exalt the prerogative of the Roman pontiff.

dern and not less respectable British authors. We may even add to them the long envenomed list of the traducers of the Irish nation, from Gerald Barry down to the last of his interested or prejudiced devotees, who have been so far from questioning the existence of St. Patrick, that they have generally rested their strongest arguments against the religion, cultivation, and credit of the Irish nation upon the doctrines, conduct, and incidents of their apostle's life. The very basis of Usher's learned *Primordia*, is bottomed on the mission of St. Patrick. He there affirms *, that we have no authentic life of this saint more ancient, than that of Probus, which is usually published amongst the works of Bede: a circumstance, which strongly imports the coevality of the writers; and the Bollandists are of opinion, that Probus lived in the seventh century.

Unanimous
evidence of
his exist-
ence.

The unanimous assent of every writer upon the introduction of christianity into Ireland, that from the death of Palladius in 431, down to the year 460 at least, the supreme episcopal jurisdiction over the whole island was exercised by St. Patrick; and the silence of the whole Pyrrhonian school, from the sceptic Master Ryves down to the errant Pyrrhonite Sir John Carr, upon the progress of christianity from the decease of Bishop Palladius, unquestionably afford that moral evidence of St. Patrick's existence at that period, to which no fair and reasonable mind can refuse assent. The tradition and usages of the whole catholic church

* Ush. Prim. c. 17, p. 817.

for so many centuries, cannot but furnish strong corroborative evidence of the fact, even to those, who reject the doctrines, upon which the commemoration of the saint's festival is founded.

Fashionable as it is to inveigh against the ignorance and superstition of the middle ages, the light of reason must not be put out, either to support or oppose the common tradition and belief of the christian world for above thirteen centuries. After a long lapse of time, the false history or forged existence of a particular personage, may acquire a currency of belief from a variety of causes: from the plausibility of the original fiction, the flattering or interested motives for keeping up the delusion, the art of those, who are privy to the deception, in concealing the reality from the ignorant, the reluctance of most men to the trouble of investigation, the facility of many to believe whatever is told them, the continually increasing apathy to past events, as lapse of time removes them from personal affection and interest. The precise origin of fiction is seldom to be traced; it never becomes general at one time.

We are assured by Dr. Ledwich *, that in the ninth century, the name of St. Patrick first appeared; and hence he deduces the whole system of the forgery. The people must have been grossly ignorant and brutal, upon whom such forgeries could have been wantonly palmed, more especially, when no possible interest could arise out of the deceit to the active or

Error gains
currency by
lapse of
time.

Ledwich's
attempts to
disprove the
existence of
St. Patrick.

* Ant. p. Led. 80.

passive objects of the imposition. This antipatrician antiquarian, who boasts * with such fastidious confidence of his internal and invincible proofs, that our apostle and his history are equally fabulous, lets himself down most pitifully, by resorting to the legendary tales of St. Dionysius and St. James, which from the credulous blunders of Hilduin, may have received some currency in the ninth century, by not pursuing the argument to its natural close. If it at all apply, it must go also the whole length of negating the existence both of St. James and St. Denis. But will any man possessed of a particle of common sense or honesty, maintain for an instant with this Archpyrrhonite, that the pens of the Irish Hagiographers of the ninth century, had the magical virtue to fascinate not only their own countrymen, but all the learned writers of England, Scotland, France, Flanders, Italy, Germany, and every country of Christendom for so many centuries, into the reverence and commemoration of a non-entity. No point in ecclesiastical history has been subjected to more severe criticism, than the mission of St. Patrick from Rome to Ireland. And it is notorious, that exclusively of his 64 old biographers, who have interlarded their legends with such miracles, as no age of reason could digest, there is not a single writer, that has come under our eye, foreign or native, catholic or acatholic, ancient or modern, who does not admit the existence of St. Patrick in the fifth century; and that he propagated the gospel of Christ amongst the

* *Led. Ant.* p. 68.

Irish. We except the learned, respectable, and enlightened triumvirate of the nineteenth century, Ledwich, Gordon, and Carr.

The submission of a christian to revelation, rather opens than shuts the mind to the fair operations of human reason. It is obvious, that this apostle of pyrrhonism grounds the foundation of his mission upon the silence of Bede, and some other authors, who, he argues, might or ought to have made mention of St. Patrick, whilst they treated of ecclesiastical subjects of the fifth century. Negative arguments will never arrive at a positive conclusion. Bede in writing the ecclesiastical history *Gentis Anglorum*, had no more reason to travel into Ireland, than into Scotland or Gaul: and his silence might equally be made to negative the uncontested facts of St. Palladius having preached the gospel to the British Scots and St. Rhemigius to the Gauls. Bede's Martyrologe mentions the death of St. Patrick the confessor *in Scotiâ*, i. e. Ireland. And as we before observed, though some authors with probable reason allege, that some latter saints, who flourished after the time of Bede, were added to his Martyrologe, not one has been hinted at even by Ledwich, that affects to charge it with any interpolation relative to St. Patrick, or indeed to any Saint prior to Bede's own time.

It is a matter of justice to the Irish nation, to lay before the British public, that testimony, which this venerable writer has given of the high state of cultivation, science, and virtue, in which the Irish then were; and which is an irrefragable testimony from an

Dr. Ledwich's arguments against the existence of St. Patrick.

Superior civilization of Ireland after St. Patrick's time.

Anglo-Saxon author, very partial to his own countrymen, of the inferiority of British civilization and religion at that early period. The necessary inference becomes the most corroborative evidence of the authenticity and veracity of the Irish annals in the first centuries, after that country had received the light of faith from the preaching and apostolic labours of St. Patrick. It amounts to the clearest evidence, not only of the superior state of civilization of Pagan Ireland, but also of the superior improvement, which the practice of christianity added to their political institutions. Upon this point, it is satisfactory to have the reflection and conclusions of a man of science, impartiality, and respect, to resort to*. “It appears, however, clear, that at a very early period, and at a time when the greater portion of Europe labored under the oppression of Gothic ignorance, Ireland became a celebrated seat of learning and religion. After the propagation of christianity, it was dignified with the title of *Insula Sanctorum* † or the Isle of Saints: so great was the number of holy men it produced in the fifth and two following centuries, and so many were the missionaries it sent forth to propagate the chris-

* Sir Richard Colt Hoare's Journal of a Tour through Ireland in 1806, Int. xxiv.

† Ireland continued to be called *Insula Sanctorum* for many centuries after the conversion of its inhabitants: Yet *insula sacra* was a very ancient name given to that kingdom, which appears from Avienus Festus, as quoted by Dean Swift, in the notes upon his verses on the sudden drying up of St. Patrick's well, near Trinity College, Dublin. Avienus flourished in the joint reigns of Gratian and Theodosius, about the year 379, and in his poem

tian faith in other parts of the world. Hither, says an Irish historian *, the sciences fled for protection, and here their followers and professors were amply supported. The city of Armagh had no fewer than 7000 scholars studying at the same time within its university, although the kingdom contained several other academies equally celebrated, if not equally numerous." He then refers, as Lord Littleton had also done in his History of Henry II. to Venerable Bede, which it will be but justice to the historian, and satisfaction to the reader, to give in his own words, as the most flattering and dignified monument of national liberality, munificence and grandeur, to be met with in the body of universal history, from the days of *Feniusa Farsa* †, the Scythian ancestor of the Milesians, to the present day. We premise, that, the time (A. D. 604) of which the venerable historian speaks

De Oris Maritimis, has these words: *Insula sacra et sic insulam dixere prisci; eamque latè Gens Hybernorum colit.* The sacred island, and so the ancients called the island; and the Irish nation now fully inhabits it.—*Rem. Jap.* p. 403.

* O'Connor's Dis. p. 204.

† The Irish chroniclers say, that this great and learned prince, who with two others invented the use of letters, did about 240 years after the flood, found seminaries for learning the several languages of the earth, particularly the original Hebrew in Magh Seanair, which he invited the youth of the adjacent countries to frequent, and over which he continued himself to preside in person, particularly for the benefit of his son Niul; and when he had completed his education, the father, *Feniusa Farsa*, returned from Magh Seanair (Shinar) into his own country, Scythia, where he erected several seminaries upon the same footing for the education of his Scythian youth,—*Keat*, p. 23.

up to the death of St. Patrick (A. D. 460) fills but the short space of 144 years, during which Ireland, being both more remote from, and enjoying less intercourse with Rome (then the prime seat of western civilization) than Britain, and having received the christian faith about 150 years later, could not have acquired such a preeminent superiority over that and every other nation on the Continent, in learning, religion, and hospitality, unless before her conversion to christianity she had received from her ancestors, and still enjoyed, a more refined system of civil government, that had kept up the arts and sciences in a state of vigor and perfection unknown to any other country. For till that time, and for some centuries after, Ireland alone of all the kingdoms of Europe had remained untouched by the Roman arms, and unassailed by the Gothic hordes, which crushed and barbarized the Roman, and all other nations of Europe, and which spread over the western continent that general gloom of ignorance and superstition, which darkened the middle ages.

Bede's honourable testimony of Ireland.

Bede having described an eclipse of the sun, and the ravages of a mortiferous plague throughout Britain, in the same year (604) continues in these words *.

“ But this plague ravaged Ireland also with the like fatal consequence. There were at that time many, both of the nobility and middle order of the English nation, who in the time of the Bishops Finan and

* Bed. Eccl. Hist. l. iii. c. xxvii.

Coleman, having left their native island, had retired thither for the sake of applying to divine lecture, or practising a life of stricter observance; and some indeed immediately devoted themselves downright to a monastic life, whilst others by attending the different cells of the masters, were happy to advance themselves in their studies, all of whom the Scots received with the utmost cordiality, affording them not only gratuitous maintenance and instruction, but furnishing them also with books for their use." Ere we take leave of our venerable Saxon historian, it will not be improper to submit also to the British reader, his account of British gratitude to the Irish nation for their hospitality and munificence. Little surely did that venerable historian suspect, that his silence about the apostolic labors of St. Patrick, when writing the ecclesiastical annals of another country, would in after-ages be converted into an engine for robbing the Irish of the honor and protection of their apostle, to whose labours were owing those noble institutions of learning and piety, from which the ungrateful Anglo-Saxons had received such eminent advantages *. "In the 684th year of Our Lord's incarnation, Ecfrid the king of the Northumbrians, having sent Bertus over to Ireland with an army, he most barbarously ravaged an unoffending nation, that had ever shewn the warmest friendship to the English, so that his destructive hand did not spare even churches and monasteries."

* Bed. Ecc. Hist. l. iv. c. 26.

Bede and
the Irish an-
nalists
agree.

This passage in Bede confirms the authenticity of the Irish annals*, which agree in saying, that at this very time Ecfrið landed in Leinster, and committed hostilities for some time, during which the battle of Rathmore was fought, in which Cusmasgach, the king of the Picts, and several of the Irish, were slain. After which Bertus returned to Britain laden with spoil. Bede further tells us, that the very next year, he wantonly and against the advice of bishop Cuthbert, made war against the Picts, by whom he was killed, and the greater part of his army slain through the just judgment of God. Bede observes, that in like manner the year before Ecfrið had not listened to the advice of the most reverend father Ecgbert, who had dissuaded him from invading Ireland (Scotia), which had never offended him.

Authority
of Camb-
den in fa-
vor of
Ireland.

When we refer to the authority of Cambden, it would be an insult upon the reader to throw into the opposite scale the illuminated triumvirate, Ledwich, Gordon, and Carr. Little partial as that real antiquarian is to Ireland†, he informs us, “ That the Irish scholars of St. Patrick profited so notably in christianity, that in the succeeding age, Ireland was termed *Sanctorum patria*. Their monks so greatly excelled in learning and piety, that they sent whole flocks of most holy men into all parts of Europe, who were the first founders of Lixieu Abbey in Burgundy, of the Abbey of Bobie in Italy, of Wirtzburg in Franconia, St. Gall in Switzerland, and of Malmes-

* Keat, p. 45; and Pars. Rem. Jap. p. 403. † Hyb.

bury, Lindisfarne, and many other monasteries in Britain. For from thence came Cælius Sedulius, a priest, Columba, Columbanus, Colman, Aidan, Gallus, &c." And he also says, that our Anglo-Saxon ancestors repaired from all quarters to Ireland, as to the mart of learning; whence it so often occurs in our writers of the holy men of their time, that they were sent to Ireland to perfect their religious education. (*Amandatus est ad disciplinam in Hyberniam*), and thence our Saxon countrymen appear to have received the use of letters, as they evidently made use of that alphabet or character, which to this day is in use amongst the Irish. "Nor is there, adds he, any reason to wonder, that Ireland, which, for the most part, does not now shine in polite literature, then abounded with men of eminent virtue and talents, in an age, in which learning was little heeded throughout Christendom, when the wisdom of Providence has so ordered it, that religion and learning shall sometimes grow and flourish in one nation, and sometimes in another." Now, as no effect can exist without a cause, it is necessary to question the antepatrician school: If Ireland were not evangelized by St. Patrick, from whom did it receive the light of the gospel in the fifth century, and who were the individuals, from whose hands the Word of God was so productively sown. Not one of them has attempted to doubt the exuberance of the first crops of the christian harvest in this country; but they have the matchless pertinacity, to deny that the effect was produced by the labors of St. Patrick, against the unexcep-

tionable assent and concurrence of more than a thousand years, without hazarding even a surmise, that any other individual had been the instrument of Divine providence in bringing about those extraordinary blessings of its special grace. We cannot anticipate, that a fourth person within the British empire will be so hardy, as to associate himself with the Pyrrhonian triumvirate of Ledwich, Gordon, and Carr.

Dr. Campbell believed in the existence of St. Patrick.

Mr. Gordon has attempted * to enlist Dr. Campbell amongst the deniers of the existence of St. Patrick. But we think we should do him real injustice, were we to marshal him with the triumviri. Had he not believed, that St. Patrick once existed, and that he had taken an active or the principal part in opposing and defeating the paganism of Ireland, he never could have said, that “† *Druidism was the religion before St. Patrick, who is said to have burnt 200 books of it in one fire.*”

Civil estimation in which St. Patrick was holden.

It will be useless to refer to the contents or nature of any of the old Irish annals, as against those, who purely from self-confidence aver them all to be mere fictions and dreams of the monks of the ninth century. Confiding, however, that there is a numerous class of persons taking an interest in the credit and welfare of the Irish people, who differ from the pretended opinions of the sceptic triumvirate, we feel it a duty to submit some few observations upon the general origin, tenor, and tendency of the early monuments of Irish history, which have reached our

* Hist. Ire. vol. i. p. 13. † Surv. of So. of Ire. p. 224.

days. After Loaghaire, and a great part of the nation had adopted the christian faith, St. Patrick was looked up to by them with plenitude of confidence. They not only admitted him to be their director in all matters of religion, but wished him also to be their arbiter in civil concerns. Their conversion to christianity led them not to abandon, but to improve and regulate their national institutions. St. Patrick, as a well-wisher and friend to their nation, was admitted into the assemblies of state, and they paid the highest deference to his judgment.

At the request of St. Patrick, the monarch summoned a convention of the chiefs, historians, and antiquaries of the kingdom, in order to purify their records and annals from the corruptions of paganism. They were accordingly produced before this assembly, and a committee of nine was appointed to examine and reform them: viz. three kings, Loaghaire the monarch, David king of Ulster, and Core king of Munster; three christian bishops, St. Patrick, Binen, and Caernach; and three antiquaries or senachies, Dubhtach, Feargus, and Rosa. Their amendments were approved of by the convention, and were deposited in the public archives as an authentic collection for future ages to have recourse to; and the veracity of this body of records was ever after relied upon by the nation, and was called *Seneachas-More*, or *the Great Antiquity*. Many copies were taken of this venerable code of records, history, and genealogies; and by general consent committed to the care of their bishops, to be deposited in their churches for the be-

The annals
reformed
after christianity.

nefit of posterity. To the multiplication of copies for this national purpose it is owing, that any of them have survived the ravages of the Danes and English, who systematically destroyed whatever they found in public repositories*; such as the Psalters of Armagh and Cashel, the book of Glean da Loch, and several others mentioned in Keating. Some of them appear to have been lost even since his time.

Effects of
purifying
the Irish
annals.

It will be obvious to the impartial observer, that by this species of christian baptism, which, under the direction of St. Patrick, the Irish annals underwent, three strong and very important effects were produced. 1. The annals themselves were cleansed and purified from all such passages or allusions to the heathenish or idolatrous system of religion (if any) as broke in upon the purity of evangelical morality, tended to provoke or countenance vice, or in any manner directly or indirectly derogated from the worship and homage due exclusively to God†. 2. These new,

* 2 Keat. p. 19.

† We have before remarked, that the ancient Irish annals being free from the gross obscenities and horrors with which the corrupt idolatry of the Grecian and other nations polluted their religious rites, afforded a strong argument for the high antiquity of their religion, as proving the preexistence of the purer and therefore earlier institutions. Such Diodorus, the Sicilian, l. v. c. 1. informs us, was the religious practice of his own country in the annual celebration of the feast of Ceres. "It is the custom amongst them, during all these ten days, to use obscene and filthy language in their converse with one another; because the goddess being cast into the dumps of melancholy for the loss of her daughter, is put to the smile, they say,

chastened, and reformed copies of the national annals being copied or recopied with omissions and amendments agreed upon in a public assembly, debarassthe antiquarian of all the difficulties of proving the particular method by which their earliest records were preserved and transmitted down to the fifth age of the christian æra. From that time, there is obviously no more difficulty in proving the authenticity of Irish manuscripts, than any other of equal or elder date before the invention of printing. 3. This emendation and multiplication of the annals readily account not only for the preservation of several copies in the hands of individuals, but for the christianized or unpaganized form in which, to the severe archæological critic, they may appear.

The extent of our attempt is to prove, that the Irish are descended from a race of Scythians, and that a long succession of princes of the Scythian dynasty continued to govern them from 1300 years before the

*Internal
proofs of
the authen-
ticity of
these an-
nals.*

by smutty discourse." Herodotus (Euterpe li.) says, he was informed, that although his countrymen had been taught many circumstances of religious worship from Egypt, it was from the Pelasgians they had learned to construct their figure of Mercury in a manner (too indecent even for a christian to mention). The same author adds, that of the truth of this, whoever has been initiated in the Cabyrion mysteries, which the Samothracians use, and learned of the Pelasgi, will be necessarily convinced; for the Pelasgians, before they lived near the Athenians, inhabited Samothracia, and taught the people of that country their mysteries. It would be endless and indecent to particularize the objects of stimulation to the grossest carnality, which these depraved idolaters exhibited in their solemn processions and other ceremonies of religion.

christian æra, till the time that Henry Plantagenet assumed the sovereignty over their island. Having offered to the reader some, which we have selected out of numberless external proofs of the authenticity of the ancient Irish annals, it remains for us to furnish him with such a sketch or reference to these ancient documents of Irish story, as will enable him to judge of their authenticity, if philologically competent to conclude from their internal evidence.

Mr. Burke's
ideas of
publishing
Irish an-
nals.

There appeared in Dodsley's Annual Register for 1802 * an original letter of Mr. Burke to General Vallancey, in which he says, "will you pardon me for reminding you of what I once before took the liberty to mention; my earnest wish, that some of the ancient Irish historical monuments should be published as they stand, with a translation in Latin or English. Until something of this kind be done, criticism can have no secure anchorage. How should we be able to judge of histories, or historical discussion on English affairs, where references are to Bede, to the Saxon Chronicle, to Ingulphus, and the rest, whilst those authors lurked in libraries, or, what is worse, lay in the hands of individuals." And, "there is no doubt of a subscription sufficient to pay the expence. The ability to undertake it has been found. But if any accident should happen to you and Mr. O'Connor, what security have we, that any other like you should start up?" Since this letter was written by Mr. Burke, Mr. O'Connor has paid the debt of

* Annual Register for 1802, p. 820.

nature. Kind Providence has still preserved, (and may it long preserve,) General Vallancey, who has never since suspended his interesting and laudable pursuits of Irish literature, which daily add new light, credit, and importance to this valuable part of the British empire.

There afterwards appeared in Dodsley's Annual Register for the year 1803, the account of a work then said to be in the press, entitled, *Rerum Hybernicarum Scriptores antiqui ex vetustis MSS. Codicibus descripti, recogniti, nunc primum in lucem editi. Adjectis variis lectionibus, Glossario, Dissertationibus. Indiceque copioso a Carolo O'Connor, D. D.* To every person curious, anxious, or interested in the history, credit, or fate of Ireland, this advertisement *

Anticipated account of Dr. O'Connor's translation of the annals.

* In order to excite the political and literary appetite of the public for this promised feast, beyond the chances of Mr. Dodsley's Register falling into the hands of his regular customers or subscribers, a separate account of this promised work was printed and circulated as widely as possible both in England and Ireland in 1805, with a view to extend the knowledge and whet the public anxiety for securing the valuable treasure. This advertisement, which so pointedly defeats Mr. Burke's apprehensions, and gratifies his country's wishes, is the more to be relied upon, as proceeding from the fountain head of the best information on the subject. The work, however, is still in the secret womb of the author's closet. The public nevertheless gives unqualified credit to this flattering publication, which confidently assures us, *that in the grandson of Mr. O'Connor* (the object of Mr. Burke's apprehensions) *has been found the worthy inheritor and able representative of the peculiar attainments of his progenitor.* (p. 4.) The Reverend and industrious translator has the anticipated credit of producing what will delight, instruct, and gratify his countrymen: *Ut speriosa*

is of incalculable importance. This *prospectus* of the great and valuable work is the more to be relied upon, as it can only have come from the pen or instruction of the author himself; for who else could have ascertained the plan and progress of a work in hand? This gentleman pursues his undertaking under the roof and patronage of the Marquis of Buckingham, and thus speaks of his liberal Mæcenas.

Dr. O'Connor's view in publishing.

“ Authors of a more modern date unacquainted with the Irish language, and unprovided with original documents, have under all these difficulties, rather chosen to reject nearly the whole of the materials of this description, already before the public, than subject themselves to the questionable task of undertaking to winnow the few pure grains from the mass of chaff, with which they were mixed.”

Under what patronage the work was undertaken.

“ Under these impressions, an English nobleman, to whom, for many years of his life, the investigation of every subject relative to the history of that part

dehinc miracula promat. Yet we have still to lament, that although Dr. O'Connor then announced, that part was in the press, some years have elapsed and nothing has been yet produced.

After the death of the great Mr. O'Connor, Dr. O'Connor, his grandson, became possessed of the valuable collection of manuscripts, and all the printed books, that have yet appeared upon this subject on the continent as well as in England and Ireland: by far the best collection in Europe. It has passed (no matter to the public for what consideration) from Dr. O'Connor to the Marquis of Buckingham; and, as Mr. Burke says, is now lurking in the library of Stowe, and lying in the hands of an individual who appears to enhance the value of his purchase by rendering it inaccessible.

of the united kingdom was a matter of duty, and to whom it was always matter of anxious interest and gratification to devote his time and study to every point connected with the true honor and national pride of Ireland, has given much attention and expence to collect from every quarter in both islands, the originals, or faithful transcripts, of all the known most ancient documents tending to illustrate its history prior to its connection with England, and having formed an Irish library, perhaps the most complete that exists, he was fortunate enough to find, in the Rev. Dr. O'Connor, the grandson of the late Charles O'Connor, esq. of Belanagare, in the county of Roscommon, a gentleman qualified, by his superior knowledge of the Irish language and indefatigable industry, to remove from a great and high-spirited people the imputation of being unacquainted with their own annals, at a time when even the Icelanders have published theirs. In publishing the original Irish annals with translations into Latin, Dr. O'Connor may be depended upon as contracting a solemn engagement with the public for the fidelity of his work *."

Dr. O'Connor further informs us (who else could

The author's declaration of his own views.

* The following note is introduced upon this singular patronage of the most noble marquis, who acquired from his *protegé* the whole collection of materials, from which this most desirable work is to be produced (p. 4.) " But however delightful and satisfactory the pursuit of recondite knowledge may be to the secluded scholar, sterile and useless to the world would prove the labors of the most

“ that in the various notes and dissertations, which he has thought necessary for illustrating his originals, his first principle is, that ancient history rests on ancient history.” And, “ that though he feels anxious to remove the imputation of imposing on the world an imaginary race of Irish kings, he has been equally careful not to fritter away the authority of any one ancient genuine record of antiquity. The documents, which he is about to offer, will, on the contrary, contribute to render more interesting several traditions and monuments hitherto of dubious date, which will hereby be placed beyond the reach of controversy.” And Dr. O’Conor gives the originals as he finds them, with all their imperfections on their heads. But those imperfections will be found *not to affect the historical part.*

Antiquity
of the an-
nals about
to be trans-
lated.

This learned and highly patronized translator (more correctly *translaturus*) of his country’s ancient annals assures us, that all the writers of the northern foreign histories “ are long subsequent in point of time to Cennefaclad, Flaan Mac Lonan, Malmure of Othna, Flan of Bute, Coeman, and other Irish writers, who preceded Tigernach, and whose metrical fragments and lists of kings exist in the Irish language and cha-

erudite, when uninigorated and uncheered by the warm beams of munificent patronage; happily, in the present instance, they have not been withheld, but have been employed with a generous profusion in calling forth the abilities of Dr. O’Conor into light and activity, thereby conferring on Ireland in particular, and the anti-quarian and scholar of every clime, the most weighty obligation.”

racters, and in ancient vellum manuscripts, now preserved in the library of Stowe *."

Dr. O'Connor informs us, that the principal annals which will compose this work are :

List of the annals that will compose this work.

" First, The annals of Cluan † to the year 1088,

* The Stowe collection *de rebus Hyberniciis* was evidently as open to the access and use of Dr. O'Connor, whilst it remained his own property, as it has been since the transfer of it to the less accessible shelves of his noble patron. Co-operators with Dr. O'Connor in the wish to elucidate Irish history, have already found the access to his grandfather's collection impossible. Whatever light must in future be thrown upon Irish literature and history from this collection, will be dealt out to the public according to the liberality, openness, and communicative disposition of the noble purchaser and his representatives.

We are disposed to allow Dr. O'Connor the most generous credit for the fidelity of his proposed translation ; but we are at a loss to reconcile with his reasoning his affected eulogy of Giraldus Cambrensis, and other British writers, " who have turned the attention of the learned to the ancient annals of Ireland," and his profession, that " he does not undertake, in any instance, to justify or defend any national prejudice, nor would it become him to attempt to amuse, where he could not convince. The subject he has undertaken is so severe, that the reader is relieved from any apprehension of being seduced by ingenuity of conjecture, or plausibility of declamation." (p. 6.) The wish of Mr. Burke was, and of those, who sympathize with him is, that the ancient annals should be published, *as they stand*, with a translation in English or Latin. We see not what conjecture and declamation have to do with fidelity of translation. That is what is promised ; that is all that is expected. Whatever may be the prejudices of his countrymen, if Dr. O'Connor despairs of his ability of convincing, they will dispense with his efforts to amuse.

† Pinkerton, vol. i. p. 260, says, " The annals of Ulster and of Tigernach are the best historical documents on civil affairs, that

better known by the name of their writer, Tigernach, who died in the course of that year. These annals Dr. O'Connor has decyphered and transcribed from the ancient Bodleian manuscript, Rawlinson, No. 488, deposited in that magnificent collection from the library of sir J. Ware."

"Second, The annals of Ulster to the year 1131, decyphered and transcribed from the manuscript deposited likewise from sir J. Ware's library in the Bodleian, and carefully collated, with two others, brought from Ireland by the earl of Clarendon, and now extant in the library of the British Museum."

"Third, The annals of Innisfallen, decyphered and transcribed from the original autograph, written in 1318, and deposited from sir James Ware's library in the Bodleian."

"Fourth, The annals of Boyle, decyphered and transcribed from the manuscript in the Cotton library, Titus A. xxv."

"Fifth, The annals of Donnegal, commonly called of the Four Masters; the first volume of which in the original autograph is in the Marquis of Buckingham's library at Stowe, and the second in that of Trinity

the Irish nation can produce; it appears they are accurate by the eclipses they mention, which, in comparison with the chronology of eclipses in *L'Art de verifier les Dates*, I have never found to differ above one year. These, with the annals of Innisfallen, form the real ancient history of Ireland after the introduction of christianity, A. D. 432. They agree with the Saxon chronicle and old English histories, as well as latterly with the Icelandic and Danish, as to Scandinavian affairs in Ireland, and with the *Chronicon Pictorum*."

College, Dublin; but of which a faithful copy transcribed by the late Charles O'Connor, esq. is likewise in the Stowe library."

" Sixth, Certain metrical and other ancient compositions written on vellum in the Irish language and characters, some of which precede the age of Tigernach, being quoted by him, and belong to the seventh, eighth, ninth, tenth, and eleventh ages, forming a chain of traditional history to the days of Tigernach. Of these, some very ancient copies, of various dates, are extant in the Bodleian, and others in the Stowe library."

Besides these historical documents or annals, which Dr. O'Connor has promised the public a faithful and exact translation of, there is in his grandfather's collection, now buried or lurking in the library at Stowe, a most curious manuscript poem attributed to king Alfred, who travelled through various districts of Ireland in the ninth century, and who commemorates in it the most extraordinary things he there met with. The character is ancient and very obscure. It commences with the words, *Roidheat in Innis Finis Fail*. There is also in this collection at Stowe an Irish poem called Duan written in 1056, of which Pinkerton * thus speaks: " This is beyond question the most ancient monument of Dalriadic history extant; a translation of a part of it is given in the *Ogygia Vindicated*, published by Mr. O'Connor. Without this old Gaelic Duan, no series of the princes of Dalriada could be

Other valuable manuscripts in the O'Connor collection.

* Pink. Scotl, v. ii. p. 106.

given ; for many of them are not found in the Latin lists or in the Irish annals. Both however concur to certify this Duan, and lend it every degree of historic faith. Indeed, as the most ancient piece of Dalriadic history preserved by two centuries, this Duan would, by every rule of historic authority, have merited the preference. O'Flaherty, and others most skilled in the Irish language, have ever regarded its authenticity as unquestionable. Besides its historical merit, it is valuable also for its curiosity, as an ancient specimen of these metrical lists of kings, which supplied the place of history in illiterate times."

Besides the pieces of ancient Irish history promised to the public in an intelligible language, the O'Conor collection * contains several other interesting and valuable documents : such as, a Collection of Ancient Poems, 157 pages 4to. The *Leabhair Gabbala*, folio, a fair copy ; and a fragment of the *Leabhair Gabbala* of Lecan, from the Milesian conquest to the end of Tighernas, the chronology of which differs not above two years from that of Ballimote. The *Rein Rioghrindhe*, containing catalogues of the monarchs of Ireland from the Scottish conquest, and of the provincial kings from the days of St. Patrick. A poem giving an account of the kings of Meath. A poem on the succession of the kings of Connaught. The wars of Corn and

* Having intimated in a former note, that this collection is now inaccessible to those who wish to authenticate and verify matters in Irish history, it is fitting to inform the reader, that whatever is here said of it, is upon the authority of the reverend grandson, ere yet *Vendidit hic auro patriam*.

Mogha M'adhet. The battle of Moy Muirounhe. The expedition of Ceallaghan Cashil. The expeditions of Brian Boiromhe. An abstract of Teasusg Flatha, attributed to Cormac O'Cuinn, king of Ireland, and transcribed in 1396. Mr. O'Connor collated this with an ancient copy in General Vallancey's possession; and the cast of its phraseology shews, that it is very ancient. The Torna Ligios in rhyme, 4to. 83 pages. And a great number of other manuscripts, of which the title pages are so obscure, that it would seem as if time had forbidden a discovery.

However tender the reverend grandson of the patriotic Charles O'Connor may be of countenancing national prejudices, his countrymen have his solemn earnest for co-operating in proving their descent from a Scythian colony, and a long succession of princes of that race, and in verifying the fact of St. Patrick's existence, and of his having preached and propagated the christian religion throughout their island in the fifth century. The person who professes with such manly confidence, that *nothing but dishonor can be derived from falsehood*, never can be supposed to employ the flower of his life (however invigorated and cheered by the warm beams of munificent patronage) in the patient and laborious investigation of ancient facts, the only guides to truth in historical research, for the purpose of bringing before the public documents which contribute to render more interesting several traditions and monuments hitherto of dubious date, which will be hereby placed beyond the reach of controversy, unless he act under the strongest con-

Mr. Charles O'Connor's earnest in favour of the antiquity of the Irish annals.

viction of these annals and records being original and genuine, and not the fictions and dreams of monks of the ninth century. We have his special sanction for saying, that "*though Dr. O'Connor feels anxious to remove the imputation of imposing on the world an imaginary race of Irish kings, he has been equally careful not to fritter away the authority of one ancient written record of antiquity.*" Therefore such there are. Q. E. D.

Other authorities to the like effect.

Some few years back, when Dr. O'Connor was fully as anxious as he has latterly been for his countrymen's participation in the full effects of his grandfather's labors, talents, knowledge and zeal for their credit and welfare, he collected the following instructive inference from the historical researches of his truly patriotic ancestor *. "Mr. Pinkerton and Dr. Priestley observe very justly, that there is scarce any method by which historic lists of kings or princes are better preserved, than by the traditionary songs by which the senachies of the ancient noble families

* Lord Lyttleton gives this honourable testimony of Mr. Charles O'Connor (Life of Hen. II. vol. iv. p. 300. Dub. ed. 1769.) "As for what had passed in Ireland during the times that I write of, before the English adventurers in Dermot's service went thither, the best authorities for it are the annals of Ireland compiled by cotemporary writers, with extracts of which, translated from the original Irish, I have been favoured by a gentleman well-skilled in that language, Charles O'Connor, esq. who, with the noble blood which flows in his veins, has naturally inherited a passionate love for the honor of his country, and therefore willingly assists in any undertaking, that may render the history of it more known and more complete."

of Ireland preserved their genealogical computations." The names of the whole Danish, Swedish, and Norwegian kings preceding the 11th century have been preserved in this manner *, and nature alone could form differences of person, age, character, family, place of residence, party, &c. so nice, and yet so evident, as those which appear in the ancient genealogical accounts of the Irish nation, handed down so invariably from age to age, in such a wide and almost infinite range of being, as to beggar the most creative invention; and hence the ingenious Dr. Barnard accurately remarks, "that the Irish genealogies still extant carry intrinsic proofs of their being genuine and authentic, by their chronological accuracy and consistency with each other, through all the lines collateral as well as direct; a consistency not to be accounted for on the supposition of their being fabricated in a subsequent age of ignorance, but easily explained, if we admit them to have been drawn from the source of real family records and truth †." "To describe men," says the celebrated Mr. Wood, "to point out their persons, to relate their adventures, and make a long recital of their families, seems to be beyond the power of fiction; the feigning faculty, be it ever so rich and inventive, after an effort or two, recoils upon itself ‡."

* See Mallet's *Northern Antiquities*, 2 vols. 8vo. and the first volume of the *History of Norway*, by the erudite Torsæus.

† *Inquiry into the Origin of the Scots*, published in the first volume of the *Trans. of the R. I. A.*

‡ *Wood's Life of Homer*.

Many other
authentic
documents
besides the
O'Conor
collection.

Besides the documents of ancient Irish history, of which some account has been submitted to the reader, there are many other both valuable and interesting relicks of the senachies and phillids, that have been traced into the hands of the modern researchers into Irish antiquity, such as General Vallancey, Dr. Parsons, Mr. O'Halloran, and others, as well as such as are deposited in public libraries and collections; upon which, having already exceeded the intended limits of this Dissertation, we shall say nothing.

Ancient
Phœnician
custom of
preserving
their re-
cords.

We conclude by observing, that the Irish annalists are uniform in relating the extreme caution and constitutional severity and precision with which their historical records were constructed, entered, and preserved both in ethnic and christian Ireland; an institution unknown to any other nation of Europe, which descended not from the same stock, and which Ireland has ever deemed the most precious monument of her glory and antiquity *. To give full effect to this observation, it remains to show from external authority, that this institution was exclusively in use in that nation, from which the Irish draw their origin, government, and laws. Joseph, the Jew, in his book against Apian, the Greek grammarian of Alexandria, after having exposed to contempt the Greek's pretensions to any ancient, chronological, or historical knowledge, says, "for though it be acknowledged, that they received their first letters from the Phœnician Cadmus, yet, from want of public registers, they are unable to pro-

* O'Hal. p. 62.

duce any testimonies of this, or indeed of any other point of high antiquity, which might be depended upon. But not so *with the Phœnicians*, the Chaldeans, and with us (the Jews), who have *from remote antiquity, by means of registers, and the care of persons particularly appointed to this office, preserved our histories beyond all other nations.*"

THE
HISTORY OF IRELAND,
FROM THE
INVASION OF HENRY II.
TO ITS
INCORPORATE UNION WITH GREAT BRITAIN.

BOOK I.

COMPRISING THE PERIOD OF TIME FROM THE IN-
VASION UNDER HENRY PLANTAGENET, TO THE
REFORMATION OF RELIGION UNDER HENRY VIII.

CHAPTER I.

The Reign of King Henry II.

THE first book comprises a period of nearly 400 ^{1154.} years. It demands peculiar attention, inasmuch as it was a long test of the mutual disposition and relative conduct of the two nations of England and Ireland to each other, whilst both professed the same religion. ^{For four centuries England and Ireland of the same religion.} It is the more necessary not to lose sight of this circumstance, by how much Ireland, in later days, has suffered on the score, under the pretext, or by the abuse of religious prejudice. No prepossessions on either

1155. side can be so ungovernable, as to preclude the most poignant grief, that the sacred cause of religion should have ever been perverted to ends so diametrically opposite to its benign institution. Whatever jealousy, diffidence, or oppression then shall be found to have existed during these four centuries, will be naturally placed to the account of national, not religious antipathy.

Pope Adrian
IV. and
king Henry
II.

The latter part of the Irish history immediately preceding the close of the Milesian dynasty, presents a continued scene of intestine dissention, turbulence, and faction. But it would exceed the scope of this history to trace the causes which led to the weakening, and ultimately brought about the dissolution of the Irish monarchy. No historian, either Irish or British, gives any account of the public or secret manœuvres of the kings of England to acquire the dominion of Ireland. About this time * William of Malmesbury said, as did afterwards Sir James Ware, that our Henry the First had Mortough and his successors so much at his devotion, that they would not write or do any thing without his approbation. It appears however that Henry II. must have bent his mind most determinately to the acquisition of Ireland from his accession to the throne

* Mortough was the immediate predecessor of Roger O'Connor. William of Malmesbury was a very accurate and industrious investigator of antiquity, and (barring the propensity of his time to rehearse miracles) a faithful annalist; he was a Cluniac monk of the abbey of Malmesbury, and died in 1142, in the troubled days of king Steven. He was consequently cotemporary with Henry I. who died A. D. 1135.

of England. He is, indeed, said to have often seriously meditated the conquest of that country; he had even, in 1155, summoned a council at Winchester to consult upon the expediency of such a measure *. He was crowned in the twenty-second year of his age, by Theobald, archbishop of Canterbury, on the 19th of December, 1154. As this young, enterprising, and ambitious prince thought proper to rest his right and claim to the sovereignty of Ireland upon a papal bull or donation, it is necessary to notice, that on the 6th of December in the very same year, 1154, Nicholas Breakspear, an Englishman of low parentage, then cardinal bishop of Albano, was elected to the papacy; and he filled the pontifical chair, under the name of Adrian the IVth, four years, eight months, and twenty-nine days. It is remarkable, that few or none of his bulls are dated according to the year of his pontificate: a circumstance entirely unprecedented. Our English historians have represented Henry's application to the Pope, and Adrian's conduct in consequence of it in a manner widely different from the Irish. They inform us, that Henry, having been invited by the inhabitants of Ireland to take possession of that kingdom, acquainted the Pope with his design of invading it, in order to extend the bounds of the church, to instruct that ignorant and unpolished people in the truth of the christian religion, to extirpate vice and plant virtue in its room; and to facilitate that undertaking, he begged

1155.

* Int. to sig. R. C. Hoare's Tour, xxxii.

1155. the advice and favor of the apostolic see, promising the yearly pension of a penny to St. Peter from every house in the island. The pope commended so pious and laudable a design, assuring him, that not only Ireland, but all the islands, that had received the christian faith, undoubtedly belonged to St. Peter and the holy Roman church, as the King himself well knew; and that he therefore granted him his petition, and approved his design of invading Ireland for the above purposes, and making himself master of that island, upon condition of causing a penny a house to be yearly paid to St. Peter, and his preserving entire the rights of the church *.

Great synod
at Kells in
1152.

The year of Christ 1152 is the epoch, at which all our writers, from archbishop Usher down to Dr. Leland, fix the full and unequivocal submission of the Irish church to the see of Rome†. Usher has laboured to prove a difference in the Irish church from

* Cod. Vatican apud Bar ad an. 1159. tom x. Concil. Radulph. de Dicet. in Imagin. Hist. p. 529. Matth. Paris ad ann. 1159. Gerald. Cambrens. L. ii. c. x. &c.

† Dr. Leland says, p. 7: *Thus was the correspondence opened with the church of Ireland, and the preeminence of Rome formally acknowledged.* From the unaccountable and perhaps unjustifiable purport of this bull, breve, or letter of Adrian, by which he gave Ireland to Henry the Second, some catholic writers have conceived it impossible, that it should have really issued from the holy see. Father Alford, an English jesuit, strongly denied its authenticity (Bow. Hist. of Popes, vol. vi. p. 108); and Abbé Geoghegan most strenuously labors to prove it a forgery from a variety of reasons, which he works up into a dissertation upon the subject. One of the chief grounds of his assertion is the profligate character of Henry, which rendered him unfit for an apostle. He contends, that the pope was misinformed as to the state and cultivation of

the church of Rome before this period, in doctrine, discipline, and communion; yet he and all other writers admit, that at the synod at Kells, where there were three thousand of the clergy with several princes and nobles convened, to express their entire union and communion in all things with the see of Rome, the four archbishops of Armagh, Dublin, Cashel, and Tuam formally received the pall from cardinal Paparon. He was admitted into Ireland with a legantine commission for this special purpose; and thenceforth the Irish prelates submitted to and recognized the spiritual supremacy of the bishop of Rome.

It appears incredible, that so very soon after this solemn treaty with, and unequivocal submission of the Irish clergy in all matters of discipline to the see of Rome, this singular bull or donation of Adrian should have issued to a christian prince. For the purpose of this history, the specific date of Adrian's bull is not material. It must have been written between 1154 when he was elected, and 1159 when he

Adrian's
bull, and
Alexander's
confirmation
of it.


religion in Ireland; he denies his holiness's assumption of a right to dispose of all islands, that ever had received the light of christian faith; and concludes, that it was a forgery from its not having been published till the year 1171, although it bear date in December 1154. (*Vide Geog. Hist. vol. i. p. 438 to 462.*) The Abbé also draws another reason in support of his favorite thesis from its appearance in Baronius without a date. But, assuredly, an author of Baronius's credit and respectability, possessing the readiest means of ascertaining the truth, never will be suspected of having published a forgery as an authentic act of the sovereign pontiff.

1155. died *. But the confirmation of this bull by his successor Alexander III. is still more astonishing; for in this latter the Irish are most contumeliously mentioned as barbarians, and christians only in name. Many Irish historians, tender of the honor of the see of Rome, have attempted to represent them as spurious. But Henry's having published them during the life of Alexander, and complaints of them having been made by the Irish clergy to his legate Vivian, and their having been printed by Baronius, leave no doubt, but that they are genuine.

Abuse of
the spiritual
power of
the church.

Imagination can scarcely invent a pretext for the bishop of Rome's exceeding the line of his spiritual power, by the formal assumption of *temporal* authority over independent states. Such acts of usurped extraneous power have however been most unwarrantably exercised by Roman pontiffs, and most unaccountably submitted to by temporal sovereigns. Adrian IV. was an Englishman, and therefore the more blameable for prostituting the spiritual supremacy to the wicked purpose of forwarding the ambition and unjust policy of his own sovereign. The Irish nation, though faithful to the spiritual primacy of their chief bishop, drew the proper line between the spiritual and temporal power, by resisting this futile donation of their kingdom to a foreigner. Nothing can more strongly paint the abusive profanation of religion, than Henry's attempt to varnish

* This bull of Adrian, and the confirmation of it by his successor Alexander III. are given at length in the appendix to my *Historical Review*, No. I.

with spiritual sanction his infamous support of an adulterous tyrant, and the iniquitous efforts of his own ambition and usurpation. 1155: 

This conduct of Henry cannot be impartially stated without previously describing the character of Diarmuid Mac Murchad, or Dermot Mac Morough, king of Leinster, whose cause he pretended to espouse, but which he rendered ancillary to his ambitious views of acquiring possession of that country. According to the Irish annals of these latter times*, in the reign of Roderick O'Connor, the last king of Ireland, Teighernan O'Rourke, king of Briefer, had married a lady of lascivious disposition, who renouncing all the fidelity and esteem due to her husband, had resolved to seize the first opportunity of quitting him. The name of this lady was Dearbhforguill, the daughter of Mortough MacFloinn, king of Meath, (and not the wife of that prince, as Giraldus Cambrensis falsely asserts). In order to accomplish her designs, she sent a private message to Diarmuid Mac Morough, with whom she was in love, and entreated him to rescue her from the embraces of a husband she hated, and use any methods, either of stratagem or force, to carry her away: and to favor her escape, the messenger was to acquaint the king of Leinster, that he might safely remove to Conatch, and continue there till her husband should set out upon his pilgrimage to *St. Patrick's Purgatory*, which he proposed to un-

Dermot's
intrigue
with the
queen of
Briefer.

* 2 Keat, p. 105.

1168.


dertake in a short time; so that, if he profited of this opportunity, he might easily convey her to Leinster, where they might both gratify with security those desires which her forced marriage with the King of Briefne had prevented her from indulging.

Diarmuid received this message with all the joy of a transported lover, and immediately prepared to accomplish an amour which, by some untoward accidents, had been hitherto crossed and disappointed. He ordered a party of horse to attend him; and arriving at the appointed place, found the lady ready to receive him. He caught her in his arms, and mounted her on horseback behind one of his superior officers, who soon reached his palace in Leinster. The lady affected not to be concerned in this design; for, when she was seized, to throw a deeper colour over her escape, she cried out for help. The king of Briefne was at that time upon his pilgrimage; but on his return understanding that his wife had been carried off by force by the king of Leinster, (the lady, by her outcries, had deceived her attendants,) he instantly mediated revenge, and applied to Roderick, king of Ireland, for assistance; he likewise instigated the nobility and gentry of his own country to undertake his quarrel, and to chastise the ravisher for an outrage which so sensibly affected his honor, and that of his wife and family.

Descript on
 of Derm. od.

It has been heretofore observed, that the courtly prelate Cambrensis had endeavoured, as he was commissioned, to render his history palatable to the court of Henry. It was consequently a part of his function

to display, in the most flattering garb, this *protegé* of his monarch. His ingenuity (for the age he wrote in he had an uncommon share) suggested nothing more plausible, than a charge of equal forwardness in the lady and the gallant. *Rapta nimirum fuit, quia et rapi voluit* *. As, however, Cambrensis was not only a cotemporary, but a personal acquaintance of this boisterous Irish chieftain, whose cause king Henry affected to espouse, his description of him will create an interesting curiosity in most, though it should not command implicit belief from all †. “Dermot Mac Morough was a tall man of stature, and of a large and great bodie; a valiant and a bold warrior in his nation; and by reason of his continuall halowing and crying, his voice was hoarse; he rather chose and desired to be feared than to be loved; a great oppressor of his nobilitie, but a great advancer of the poor and weake. To his own people he was rough and grievous, and hatefull unto strangers; he would be against all men, and all men against him.”

Besides this outrage to the king of Briefne, the oppression of Dermot Mac Morough stirred up the resentment of Roderick O'Connor, king of Ireland, who invaded the province of Leinster: and so unpopular had

* The Irish nation was not at this time so inured to the frequency, as to make light of conjugal infidelity. The preservation of the Milesian dynasty, in the hereditary line, was one of their fundamental institutions; and by a law of their wise and favorite legislator, Ollam Fodhla, the offering violence to a woman was made punishable with death, and out of the monarch's power to pardon.

† Camb. Hib. Expugn. p. 764.

1168. its sovereign made himself by his manifold acts of tyranny, that his vassals deserted him in the hour of his distress, and took that opportunity of avenging the grievances which they had for a long time been forced to dissemble. Fortune favored with success the arms of Roderick, and Dermod was obliged to fly from Leinster and seek refuge in England, where he threw himself at the feet of king Henry the Second, craving his protection, and swearing to him allegiance. The English monarch had for a long time viewed with resentment the conduct of the Irish, who, united with the Ostmen, or Danes, had committed many and grievous depredations against his subjects in Wales; but being at this time engaged in a foreign war against Louis, king of France, he could not support the cause of Dermod by force of arms, but caused the following edict to be issued in his favour:—"Henry, king of England, &c. &c. unto all his subjects, &c. &c. sendeth greeting: whensoever these our letters shall come unto you, know ye, that we have received Dermod, king of Leinster, unto our protection, grace, and favor; wherefore, whosoever within our jurisdiction will aid and helpe him, our trustie subject, for the recoverie of his land, let him be assured of our favor and licence in that behalfe."

Dermod was very honorably received by the king; yet feeling more encouraged with the hopes of future success, than of immediate relief, proceeded on his journey to Bristol, where he hoped, from the intercourse between that city and Ireland, to receive some news from his own country. He there caused

the royal letters to be publicly read, and offered liberal rewards both in money and land to those who would assist him in the recovery of his territories. At length Richard, son of Gilbert de Claire, earl of Strigul and Chepstow, came to Bristol, conversed with him on the subject, and acceding to his proposals, engaged to go over into Ireland the ensuing spring, upon condition, that Dermod should give him in marriage his only daughter Eva, and settle upon him the succession of his whole inheritance and property in Ireland.

1168.

These preliminaries being settled to the satisfaction of each party, Dermod, anxious to behold again his native land, even at a distance, repaired to St. David's; where, according to the words of Giraldus, who was bishop of that see, "languishing and lying for a passage, he comforted himself as well as he might; some time drawing, and, as it were, breathing the air of his country, which he seemed to breathe and smell; sometimes viewing and beholding his country, which in a fair day a man may ken and descry."

The spirit of adventure, backed by the encouragement of Henry (who intended to avail himself of the successes of these adventurers to acquire a permanent footing in Ireland), induced Strongbow and his co-adventurers to prepare a respectable force for supporting the efforts of Dermod to regain possession of that territory, out of which they were to reap so luxuriant a harvest. Dermod, in the meanwhile, went over in disguise, and spent the winter in the monastery at

Dermod returns to Ireland and is successfully supported.

1168. Ferns *, which he had founded; there he busied himself in preparations for the intended invasion, and waited the return of the spring, when the promised succours were to be sent out from England.

Personal at-
tractives
and arts of
Dermod.

This prince, notwithstanding his tyranny and flagitious conduct rendered him odious to the more respectable and thinking part of his subjects, yet being of a comely and robust stature, of athletic powers and boisterous intrepidity, was much favored by the lower classes, by which such personal accomplishment are highly prized. Such persons he was anxious to be careful to flatter, favor, and protect. His ambition also prompted him to secure the favor and countenance of the clergy, (under whose guidance he considered the lower order of the people constantly to move,) by bounties, largesses, and foundations, which he substituted for those acts of benevolence and virtue, which ought alone to have ingratiated him with this select order. These were the instruments upon which he rested his ambition; nor did they altogether fail him.

Success of
the English,
and death
of Dermod.

In the spring of the year 1170, Robert Fitzstephens landed in the Ban, near Wexford, and the successes of the English were so rapid, that Dermod began seriously to form plans upon the Irish monarchy, which he confided he should soon secure with the assistance of his English allies. Barbarous cruelties disgraced both parties. The English most inhumanly put to death many of the Irish prisoners


* Where, according to Cambrensis, he spent the winter part *incognito: dissimulatâ paulisper principis majestate, satis singulariter hyemavit.*

and Roderick, the monarch, cut off the head of Dermod's son, whom he had received as a pledge for the observance of a former contract entered into between him and Dermod. Dermod MacMorrough died at Fernes, in the month of May, 1171*. Strongbow, however, and his adventurous associates, continued so successful in Ireland, as to awaken the jealousies and suspicions of Henry, who was then in Aquitain, much grieved and soured at the unpleasant prospect of his own affairs, particularly at the threats of ex-communication from the pope, and the resentment of the king of France for the barbarous murder of Thomas a Becket. This atrocious act had excited an universal indignation all over the Continent. He strictly inhibited any communication whatever with Ireland, and enjoined all his subjects commorant there, upon their allegiance, to return to England, on pain of forfeiture of all their lands and perpetual banishment. Strongbow thus disappointed in his views upon Ireland, for he had now married Dermod's daughter, upon consultation with his friends, dispatched Raymond Le Gross with the following letter to Henry his sovereign.

"Most puissant Prince, and my dread Sovereign,
"I came into the land with your Majesty's leave and favor, (as far as I remember,) to aid your ser-

Letter from
Strongbow
to Henry.

* The Irish historians say, that he died by a dreadful visitation of God, as an exemplary punishment for his crimes, his body becoming suddenly covered with fetid sores, and labouring under the *morbis pedicularis*: he died in the greatest misery, without friends, pity, or spiritual comfort. 2 O'Hal. p. 354.

1172.  vant Mac Morough: What I won, was with the sword; what is given me, I give you.

“I am yours, life and living.”

Henry received Raymond with every mark of indignation, who returned to Ireland without any answer. He appears to have extricated himself very artfully from his embarrassing situation with the pope. By a solemn disclaimer of having wished or occasioned the murder of the archbishop of Canterbury, and by pre-engaging to secure to his holiness all the advantages from Ireland, resulting from Adrian's donation, he so won upon Pope Alexander III. as to procure in the next year the confirmation of that bull. This politic prince did not vainly foresee, that the Irish would more likely be brought under his subjection by means of spiritual, than temporal power.

Henry and Strongbow reconciled.

The time allowed by Henry's proclamation had elapsed: Strongbow and his adherents were proscribed in Britain: their avarice and cruelty had rendered them detested in Ireland. Roderick once more appeared in arms at the head of a large army before Dublin. The desperate situation of Strongbow drove him to such resolution, that he gained a most unexpected advantage of his enemy, whom he discomfited and dispersed. Thus Strongbow having acquired a settlement in that country, forced Henry to renew an appearance of confidence in him, in order to forward his own designs.

Reconciliation of Henry and Strongbow

The kingdom from this unexpected turn of events, was once more broken into factions. The irresolute Roderick lost the confidence of his nation; and

possessing all the haughtiness of an Irish monarch, he failed in that determined spirit, which was necessary to support it. Henry, whilst on the continent, heard with amazement the new change in Strongbow's affairs; he repaired to Britain, and made great preparations for invading Ireland. He sent over for Strongbow, received him graciously, restored him to his estates in England and Normandy, and declared him Steward of Ireland. Thus reciprocal interests without love or sincerity brought about a coalition between Henry and Strongbow. By treaty, Henry was to be put in possession of Dublin, Waterford, and all the maritime towns, which Strongbow held, who was guaranteed in the peaceable tenure of the rest of his territories.

1172.

Whilst Henry was preparing for his Irish expedition, no attempts were made by Roderick to oppose his landing, or to retake any of the cities, so necessary for the security of his fleet and army, except one unsuccessful attack made by O'Rourk on the city of Dublin. Not one vigorous measure was attempted by those, from whom the nation might have hoped for protection. All appeared to have betrayed its cause. The two Munsters, after having renounced the authority of Roderick, entered into treaty with Strongbow. Events seem to justify the presumption, that several of the native princes, from jealousy or dislike to Roderick, had privately encouraged the invasion of Henry, as Mac Carthey and O'Bryen were precipitate in rendering homage to him immediately after his landing.

Henry prepares to invade Ireland in person.

1172.

Henry arrives in Ireland, when several native princes surrender to him.

Henry with a fleet of some hundred ships weighed anchor from Milford Haven, and after a short passage, entered the harbour of Waterford October the 18th, 1172. His force consisted of four hundred knights, and four thousand men at arms. On his landing, Strongbow kneeling presented him the keys of that city, and putting his hands closed into those of Henry, did him homage for his kingdom of Leinster. The very next day Dermot Mac Carthy presented him the keys of his capital city of Cork, and rendered him homage as monarch of Ireland. After a few days repose, Henry marched his army to Lismore, where he rested two days; thence he proceeded to Cashell, at which city he was waited upon by Donald O'Bryen, Prince of Thomond, who tendered to him the keys of his capital of Limerick, and did him homage as to his sovereign; and his example was soon after followed by Fitz Patrick, Prince of Ossory, O'Felan, chief of the Deasies, and other Princes.

Synod of Cashell.

When Henry arrived at Cashell, he immediately summoned a synod, which was splendid and numerous. Besides the legate, there appeared the archbishops of Munster, Leinster, and Connaught with their suffragans; many mitred abbots and several of the inferior clergy. There, for the first time, he produced in public the bull of Adrian IV. though he must have had it by him about seventeen years, and its confirmation by his successor Alexander III. Henry very successfully worked upon this synod, by pressing on the clergy

the powerful sway, which the Roman pontiff at that time possessed over the politics of all christian princes. And it is evident, that through their influence, the whole nation was induced to submit to Henry with a facility, which no other means would have secured to the invader. 1172.

How much this interference of the see of Rome restrained the hands of the Irish, not only upon this, but upon other occasions, may be inferred from the following remarkable words in a memorial from O'Nial, king of Ulster, presented in 1330 to John the twenty-second bishop of Rome, in the name of the Irish nation. "During the course of so many ages, (3000 years) our sovereigns preserved the independency of their country; attacked more than once by foreign powers, they wanted neither force nor courage to repel the bold invaders; but that, which they dared to do against force, they could not against the simple decree of one of your predecessors, Adrian, &c."*

Feelings of the Irish on the papal bulls.

The acts of this council are only recorded by Cambrensis, who tells us, that after accepting of the bulls, they proceeded to the reformatations so much wanted, "which were to make the Irish christians in effect as well as in name, and which were to bring back their church from disorder and anarchy to regu-

Specious articles of the synod of Cashell.

* Scot. Chron. vol. iii. p. 908, &c. This remonstrance, which is curious and interesting, is given at length in the App. to my *Historical Review*, No. IV.

1172.

lar discipline." This reform is reduced to eight articles; the first enjoins, that the people should not marry with their close kindred. 2. That children should be catechised outside of the church door, and infants baptized at the font. 3. That the laity should pay tithes. 4. That the possessions of the church should be free from temporal exactions. 5. That the clergy should be exempt from eric, or retribution, on account of murder, or other crimes committed by their relations. 6. Directs the manner of disposing by will of the effects of a dying man. 7. Enjoins burial to the dead. And the 8th, that divine service should be for the future performed in Ireland, in every particular according to the English church: "For it is meet and just," says Cambrensis, "that as Ireland hath by providence received a lord and king from England, so she may receive from the same a better form of living. For to his royal grandeur are both the church and realm of Ireland indebted for whatever they have hitherto obtained, either of the benefit of peace, or the increase of religion; since before his coming into Ireland, evils of various kinds had from old times gradually overspread the land, which by his power and goodness are now abolished." Such were the specious and imposing articles, with which Henry endeavoured to gain the clergy, and through them to induce the nation to acquiesce in his assumption of the dominion of Ireland. It is notorious, that each of these articles was, at this period more strictly observed in Ireland, than in Britain.

Henry by the public submissions of the princes of Munster, Leinster, Ossory, and the Deasies through the influence of the Irish clergy, became sovereign of Leath Mogha: still Roderick, and the province of Ulster, made no kind of advances towards an union with him. It is asserted by the British, and denied by the Irish historians, that a peace was now concluded, and that Roderick did Henry homage by proxy, swore allegiance, and put hostages into his hands. There appears no authentic account of any great attempt made during the next two or three years, either for or against Henry. Though commanding a powerful force, and supported by Munster and Leinster, Henry made no hostile attempts whatever to extend his power over the other provinces of Ireland! Cambrensis and other British writers, who follow him, say, that with their submission, the Irish surrendered their laws and customs, and agreed to be governed by those of England. This is denied by the Irish, who assert, that the English laws were neither received nor practised out of the English pale, till the reign of James I.; and their assertion is strongly confirmed by Baron Finglass, who as late as the days of Henry VIII. confesses*, "That the English statutes, passed in Ireland, are not observed eight days after passing them; whereas those laws and statutes made by the Irish on their hills, they keep firm and stable, without breaking through them for any favour or reward."

1172. 1
Progress of
the English
in Ireland.

* Brev. of Ireland.

1175.

Henry stays
six months
in Ireland.

Certain it is, that Henry introduced the English form of government among his own followers, which was adopted by some, and rejected by others, and finally confined to what was called the pale, which did not comprehend the twentieth part of the kingdom. Not only the old, but the new Irish adhered to the old constitution in every other part of the kingdom. Henry's stay in Ireland was not more than six months, during which we find nothing remarkable, except the acknowledging of him as king of Leath Mogha, and a fatal plague, by which thousands perished. His power in Ireland was certainly of a very equivocal nature. It did not extend over half the country, and whatever negotiations he entered into, were with feudatory princes, who still retained sovereign power over their own subjects.

Peace of
Windsor.

In 1175, a formal peace* was concluded at Windsor between Roderick's ministers on one side, to wit, Catholigus, archbishop of Tuam, St. Lawrence, O'Toole, archbishop of Dublin, the abbot of St. Brandon, and Dr. Lawrence, chaplain and chancellor to the king of Connaught, and those of Henry on the other. The terms of this peace and concord are certainly not founded upon the basis of admitted conquest, or any formal introduction of new laws or constitution by the conqueror.

By the first article, Roderick on agreeing to do homage to Henry, (which if he did, it must have been by proxy) and to pay him a certain tribute,

* The articles are to be seen in the Appendix to my Historical Review, No. II.

was to possess his kingdom of Connaught in as full and ample a manner, as before Henry's entering that kingdom. By the second article, Henry engages to support and defend the king of Connaught in his territories with all his force and power in Ireland, provided he should pay to Henry every tenth merchantable hide throughout the kingdom. The third excepts from this condition the possessions of Henry and his Barons, such as Dublin with its liberties, and Meath with its domains, which were to be holden by them in as full a manner, as they had been by O'Mealsachlin, or those deriving under him; Wexford, with all Leinster; Waterford with all its domains, as far as Dungarvon, which, with its territory, was also to be excluded from this taxation. The fourth permits such Irish as had fled from the lands holden by the English Barons, to return in peace on paying the above tribute, or such other services, as they were anciently accustomed to perform by their tenures, at the option of their lords. If they should prove refractory, on complaint of such lords, Roderick was to compel them; and they were to supply Henry with hawks and hounds annually.

1175.



The personal presence of Henry II. and the several aggressions of Strongbow with fresh reinforcements during Henry's reign, all ended in making some colonial lodgments on the sea coast, and instilling into the natives a dread of the English arms and discipline, and a hatred of their name and race. So says Sir John Davies*. "He (Henry) departed out of Ireland with-

Effects of
Henry's in-
vasion ac-
cording to
Sir J. Da-
vies.

* Dav. Disc. p. 15.

1175. out striking one blow, or building one castle, or planting one garrison among the Irish ; neither left he behind him one true subject more than those, that he found there at his coming over, which were only the English adventurers spoken of before, who had gained the port towns of Leinster and Munster, and possessed some scopes of land thereunto adjoining, partly by Strongbow's alliance with the lord of Leinster, and partly by plain invasion and conquest. And this is that conquest of King Henry II. so much spoken of by so many writers, which though it were in no other manner, than is before expressed, yet is the entire conquest of all Ireland attributed to him."

Nothing more attempted in Ireland during this reign.

During the remainder of Henry's reign, nothing was either attempted or effected by the English adventurers in Ireland of sufficient importance, to arrest the reader's notice. Henry's attentions being to the close of his reign wholly engrossed by the turbulent situation of his affairs both in England and the continent, he never returned to Ireland. The management of whatever possessions and powers he had there acquired was committed in rapid succession to different noblemen, as if the king capriciously repented of his appointments, or became jealous of the power of his deputies, or dissatisfied with their conduct.

Reappointment and death of Strongbow.

In 1173, he appointed Hugh de Lacy, Lord of Meath, Lord Justice ; who in the same year was succeeded by Richard de Clare, Earl of Pembroke, as Lord Warden. In the mean time he summoned Strongbow to attend him at Rouen, and communicated to him his intencion of committing the affairs of Ireland

to his sole direction, which that nobleman undertook with the assistance of his confidant Raymond le Gross. After the death of Strongbow in 1176, the government of the English affairs in Ireland, devolved upon Raymond le Gross, who had been elected governor by the council, under the title of Procurator. 1179.

The same year the King, in a council at Oxford, very formally constituted his son, John Earl of Morton, who had not then attained his 14th year, King or Lord of Ireland. John Earl of Morton made Lord of Ireland. This grant to John appears rather to have been a cession of the king's proprietorship in his Irish acquisitions, than a deputation of the government or administration of affairs in that country. For in the same year we find William Fitz Adelm de Burgo created governor under the title of Seneschal. To the virtuous and upright conduct of this governor English and Irish historians give equal commendation. It appears to have been a fatality early intailed upon Ireland, that English policy should have always curtailed the government of the most deserving deputies. In 1179 Hugh de Lacy was again put at the head of Irish affairs under the title of procurator. In 1181 being recalled to England, Richard de Peche, bishop of Coventry, and John de Lacy, were appointed joint Lords Justices. In the same year, however, Hugh de Lacy resumed the government and continued at the head of affairs in that country, as Lord Chief Justice, till the year 1184, when Phillip de Braos, *alias* of Worcester, was named chief governor under the title of Procurator.

In this year John Earl of Morton, having attained 21 years, was sent by his father over to Ireland with a Earl of Moreton went over with great retinue.

1184. great retinue of English and Norman courtiers, by whom the Irish were contumeliously treated. The discontents of the natives soon rose into insurrection. Hugh de Lacy was assassinated, and John recalled from a government so weakly and wantonly administered.

John de
Courcy,
Henry's last
governor.

Henry then intrusted the Irish government to John de Courcy Earl of Ulster, who was a man of personal valour, of a rough and boisterous character, and besides the usual deputation of governing, appears to have had a special grant from the King, to appropriate to his own use whatever territory he could acquire by force of arms from the Irish, in the province of Ulster, of which he successfully availed himself, and continued in this situation till the death of Henry, which happened in 1189.

CHAPTER II.

The Reign of King Richard, surnamed Cœur de Lion.

THE reign of this monarch, which lasted 9 years and 9 months was, as to Ireland, a complete blank. Not one act of royalty during this whole space of time is recorded, which affected Ireland. Richard, from his accession to the throne of England, bent his mind to foreign objects of a more brilliant and ambitious nature than the reduction of Ireland. He was either insensible of the advantages of his father's conquests, as they were called, of that country, or too indulgent to his brother John, to question the power and authority he derived from his father's grant, and exercised over Ireland.

1189.

Richard never interfered with Ireland.

The style, which John Earl of Morton assumed was Lord of Ireland. By this title he had formerly granted lands and other privileges to the monastery of St. Thomas. And one of the first acts of authority, which he exercised after his father's death, was to grant to this religious house a tenth of the revenue of his city of Dublin, as it is expressed in the charter. By other charters he granted lands, franchises, and liberties, to be holden of him and his heirs, as if he held the island in fee, or absolute and uncontrouled dominion: though generally with an express reservation of churchlands, donations of bishopricks and

John Lord of Ireland acts as sovereign.

1189.

abbies, and pleas belonging to the crown. The deputies appointed to govern Ireland during the reign of Richard were appointed by John.

His power
not over the
whole king-
dom.

Notwithstanding the pompous title of Lord of Ireland; he did not even affect to extend his sovereignty beyond the parts usually occupied or possessed by his father: out of those his authority was not acknowledged even by foreigners. For when king Richard had prevailed on the Pope to send his legate throughout all his dominions, in order to solicit contributions for his expedition to the holy land, (the romantic and favourite object of that monarch's ambition,) this legate's commission and jurisdiction were expressly limited to England and Wales, and those parts of Ireland in which John Earl of Morton had power and dominion. John himself speaks in the same manner, for in his charter of franchises to the city of Dublin, he grants them immunities, not through all Ireland, where they could not be acknowledged or enjoyed, but as he expresses it, *pertotam terram et potestatem meam*. Eva the daughter and the heiress of Dermot, who was married to Strongbow, speaks with still more precision. She still affecting sovereignty paramount in her domains, confirms the grants made to the see of Dublin by Earl John, and other good men of Leinster, which then was the proper and immediate seat of English power*.

De Courcy
supplanted
by Hugh de
Lacy.

On the accession of Richard, Hugh de Lacy the younger had so effectually recommended himself to

* E Registro vocato Crede Mihi, fol. 90.

Earl John, that he soon supplanted De Courcy, and obtained his government. De Courcy retired in disgust to Ulster, attending to his own immediate interests in the possessions, which he had acquired in that province, and by detaching himself from the new deputy, betrayed the weakness of the English government, which became daily more insecure, from the avowed animosity of the adherents to the house of Roderick O'Connor. Cathal his son, surnamed the Bloody-handed, was high in the esteem of his countrymen; and placing himself at the head of a powerful faction, declared himself resolved to assert the ancient honors of his family, his province and his country, by exterminating these invaders. A very inconsiderable body of English he entirely cut to pieces, after a most determined resistance: and afterwards founded an abbey upon the field of action, called *De Colle Victoriæ*: thus raising a trophy rather to the romantic valor of his enemies, than to his own glory.

The reports of this misfortune alarmed Earl John for the security of his Irish government. The public confusion and distress of that kingdom were aggravated by the burning of the city of Dublin, and the neighbouring districts being infested by robbers, who annoyed the inhabitants without restraint or correction. This latter aggravation, Doctor Hanmer lays to the account of the famous Robin Hood, some of whose followers fled to Ireland as a place of disorder, and consequently well-fitted for their predatory system. His robberies at length became so notorious and provoking, that the natives compelled him to seek safety in Scotland.

1189.

Internal
families.

1191:

Earl Marshal chief governor, and several others in rapid succession.

These public disorders cast such suspicion upon the administration of De Lacy, that William Petit was substituted in his place in 1191, as Lord Justice, but was in the same year succeeded by William Earl of Pembroke, Earl Marshal of England. This nobleman had married the daughter of Earl Strongbow, by the Princess of Leinster, and in right of his wife was entitled to large possessions in Ireland. The Earl of Pembroke, however, in the same year gave place to Peter Pipard, as Lord Deputy, and he was replaced by Hamo de Valois, who continued at the head of the Irish government till the demise of King Richard in the year 1199.

Death of Roderic O'Connor.

In the preceding year died Roderic O'Connor, last of the Irish monarchs, in extreme old age, in the monastery of Cong, where he passed his latter years in quiet, unnoticed by the contending factions of his province. He was unhappy in the domestic feuds of his own family, though he lived to see some part of the stain of his reign wiped away by the advantages latterly gained by Cathal his son, over the English, whom he always detested as his mortal and unprovoked enemies.

CHAPTER III.

The Reign of King John.

THERE have been strong differences amongst historians, concerning the nature and effects of the grant of Henry II. to his son John. Richard, as we have observed, was too much engaged in other pursuits to question it. On his death, however, (we avoid the consideration of his nephew Arthur's pretensions to the crown,) and John's accession to the throne, all the rights which were in Henry, and might have been conveyed to his son, were now concentrated in him either by virtue of the charter of donation, or by operation of law, as the inheritor of the crown. One of the first acts of John, upon his accession to the throne of England, was to remove with disgrace from the government of Ireland Hamo de Valois, who had from peculation both on the clergy and laity amassed an immense treasure, and whom he fined in a sum of money equal to 15,000*l.* according to the present value of money, as the price of his *quietus*.

1199.
Nature of
Henry's
grant to
John.

Meilar Fitzhenry, natural son of Henry I. and one of the most distinguished barons, who had originally adventured into Ireland, was appointed to succeed him as Lord Justice; but unassisted by the King,

Meilar
Fitzhenry
Lord Jus-
tice.

1199.

and ill-supported by the English Lords, who had received Irish grants, he was confined inactive to the seat of government, without any means of attempting measures either of aggression or defence. John de Courcy and Hugh de Lacy, two of the most powerful settlers in Ireland, had for some time affected a state of independence. The former was so far from acknowledging allegiance to King John, that he openly impeached his title to the crown ; and seemed rather to assume the port of an Irish chieftain, than of an English Baron. Both De Courcy and De Lacy had united their forces in the cause of Cathal. John was particularly provoked at the revolt and conduct of De Courcy. He summoned him to repair to his presence, and do him homage. De Courcy treated his mandate with contempt. Meilar Fitzhenry marched in the mean time to reduce De Burgo, who had risen in arms ; and De Lacy and his brother Walter being restored to favor, had a commission to seize and send De Courcy prisoner to the King.

De Courcy
taken by
treachery.

De Lacy penetrated into Ulster, and came to an engagement with De Courcy at Down, in which he was forced to retire with disgrace. Immediately after this defeat, De Courcy offered the combat to Hugh de Lacy, which this Lord in respect of his commission from the king declined ; but by proclamation, promised a large reward to those, who should seize and deliver him up, alive or dead. Having bribed some of the attendants of De Courcy, they treacherously assailed him, whilst in an act of devotion near the church of Down,

and killed some of his retinue, particularly two sons of Armoric of St. Lawrence, his nephews, and although De Courcy with his usual prowess seized a large wooden cross, and with this weapon killed thirteen of his assailants, yet the survivors overpowered, bound, and led him captive to De Lacy, who paid them, indeed, the reward of their treachery, but afterwards ordered them to be hanged. De Courcy was conveyed to England, and confined to the Tower *.

1210.

The vigour and activity of Meilar Fitzhenry in the southern expedition against De Burgo and his adherents gave the English interest a firmer establishment in this part of Ireland, than it had obtained for some years; these successes were followed up by measures for adding splendor and consequence to the English government, by building a tower and palace in Dublin. Upon the vacancy of the primacy of Armagh, John had appointed one Tickhull an Englishman, to whom

Proceed-
ings against
De Burgo.

* There he remained unnoticed, until a champion of Philip king of France appeared at the court of John, and proposed to assert his master's claim to Normandy in single combat. De Courcy was recommended to meet the French champion, and after some indignant denials, at last accepted the challenge. When he entered the lists, the Frenchman, terrified at his stern aspect and gigantic size, declined the combat, and basely retired. De Courcy at the request of the two kings, who were present, gave a proof of his bodily strength, by cleaving at one blow a helmet, coat of mail, and stake, on which they were fastened. John gave him his liberty, restored him to his possessions, and in compliance with a singular request of De Courcy, granted to him and his heirs the privilege of standing covered in their first audience with the kings of England.

1210. the suffragans of that province, and the whole Irish people objected. Afterwards with the countenance of the see of Rome, Eugene, an Irishman, a prelate of exemplary virtue, was promoted in his place to that see.

John fearful
of excom-
munication.

John, having been on that occasion threatened with excommunication, and fearing a consequent conspiracy of the Irish chieftains, demanded of several noblemen their sons as hostages, and amongst others the son of William de Braosa, lord of Brecknock, a grantee of a large tract of land in Thomond. His lady answered, with indiscreet severity, that her children never should be intrusted to the man, who had murdered his own nephew. Vengeance was instantly denounced against William : and John was not ashamed to assign the necessity of reducing and punishing this lord and his adherents, as the reason for his expedition into Ireland, where he arrived in June 1210.

John lands
in Ireland.

Soon after his landing, more than 20 dynasts attended to do him homage. The English Barons, Hugh and Walter de Lacy, conscious of their misconduct, retired to France, whither William de Braosa also fled, leaving his wife and children still concealed in Ireland*. Cathal king of Connaught, agreeably to his former stipulations, and O'Nial, prince of Tir Owen, who had long proved a formidable enemy to De Courcy, and had lately been reinstated in his territory, also attended the King ; and their submission was accepted.

* They afterwards fled to Scotland, where they were taken by an agent of John, and committed to Bristol goal, where they perished from want and hardship.

John went over with several men of learning in 1212. his retinue, by whose council and assistance, a regular ^{John framed a code of laws for Ireland.} code and charter of English laws was drawn up and deposited in the exchequer of Dublin, under the King's seal, for the common benefit of the land (as the public records express it). And for the regular and effectual execution of these laws, beside the establishment of the King's courts of judicature in Dublin, John caused a new division of the King's lands into counties, where sheriffs and other officers were appointed. The twelve counties then established, viz. Dublin, Meath, Kildare, Argial, now called Louth, Katherlagh, Kilkenny, Wexford, Waterford, Cork, Kerry, Limerick, and Tipperary, mark the extent of the English territory as confined to a part of Leinster and Munster, and to those parts of Meath and Argial, which lie in the province of Ulster. This division justifies the Irish annalists in stating, that the chiefs in the remoter districts of Ulster had not given John the dominion of their lands.

John resided only three months in Ireland, during which he attempted nothing by force of arms. He had not even the resolution to oppose or reduce Hugh O'Nial, who, at the time when John was marching through his territory, boldly defied his power, and renounced his sovereignty. Upon the king's departure, the administration of his government in Ireland was committed to John de Grey, bishop of Norwich, who continued for three years to administer it with a vigour and justice till then unknown in any of his predecessors.

1213. In 1213 the Archbishop of Dublin, Henry de Londres, was invested with the king's government of Ireland; which was, however, for the most part administered by his deputy Geoffry Morris, or de Maurisco, an eminent English settler in Munster. The Archbishop was obliged to attend his royal master in England, whose full confidence he possessed, being admitted to his councils, and possessing particular influence over him. This prelate is named first of the Lords present at the execution of the deed, by which John resigned the kingdoms of England and Ireland to the see of Rome, and basely consented to hold them as a fief by the service of one thousand marks, to be paid annually, seven hundred for England, and three hundred for Ireland. He was present when John did homage to Pandolph; and is honourably mentioned as having been on that occasion the only prelate, who ventured to express his indignation at the degradation of the King, and the insolent haughtiness of the legate.

Death of
King John.

In the famous contest between John and his Barons, the Archbishop of Dublin attended the congress of Runingmede on the king's side with the few Lords, who still adhered to him, and was allowed place immediately after the Archbishop of Canterbury. In the preamble of the great charter he is mentioned as one of those prelates and Barons, by whose counsel it is alleged to have been granted. From this time to his demise at Newark in 1216, this unfortunate monarch was too much engrossed with the domestic troubles and civil war in England to attend to the government of Ireland.

CHAPTER IV.

The Reign of Henry III.

AFTER the unexpected death of king John, his infant son Henry, of the age of ten years, was crowned King at Gloucester. The earl of Pembroke, who at the time of John's death was Earl Marshal of England, being by his office at the head of the army, became during the convulsed state of civil war the head of the whole government, which necessarily then was under martial law. Such were the fidelity and ability of that nobleman in the administration of public affairs in those arduous times, that in order to enlarge his powers, and invest him with legal authority to act in all civil concerns of state, to which the jurisdiction of earl marshal did not extend, he was in a general council of the Barons at Bristol, in November 1216, solemnly elected protector of the kingdom. At this council Pembroke advised and procured the renovation and ratification of the great charter of English liberties, signed by king John at Runnymede.

1216.
Earl of
Pembroke
protector of
England.

Actuated by the like spirit of securing and transmitting to posterity this valuable summary of civil freedom, the Irish Barons availed themselves of the general spirit of the times, and transmitted in the same year a list of grievances, particularly of the encroachments upon their rights suffered in the late reign. They supplicated the young monarch (or rather the earl of Pembroke, who had lived amongst

Magna
Charta ex-
tended to
Ireland.

1217.

them) to take them under his protection, and to secure their privileges. Pembroke, well knowing their situation, was convinced that no answer so satisfactory to their complaints could be procured, as a duplicate of this charter, wherein their rights, privileges, and immunities, were placed upon the very same foundation with those of the English. By this charter, which is still extant in the city of Dublin, all the civil and political institutions of England were equally secured to Ireland, as a free and independent nation.

Another confirmation of Magna Charta to the Irish.

In the next year, Pembroke, with a view to tranquillize the minds of the King's Irish subjects, procured for them another renovation and ratification of the great charter, which begins in the following words :
 “ The king to the archbishops, abbots, earls, barons, knights, and free tenants, and to all his faithful subjects in Ireland. In proof of our approbation of your fidelity to our father, which he has experienced, and which we are likely to experience, we will, in consequence of your distinguished fidelity, that you and your heirs enjoy for ever out of our favor, and as a gift to your kingdom, the liberties granted you by our father and ourselves.”

Death of earl Pembroke.

During the beginning of this reign, Ireland enjoyed more than usual tranquillity, owing to the influence of Lord Pembroke, who acted as regent to the kingdom of England, and who was particularly connected with Ireland by the large possessions, which he held in the province of Leinster, from his intermarriage with Eva, Earl Strongbow's daughter. But unfortunately

for Ireland, Pembroke died in the year 1219, when ^{1219.} Hugh de Lacy, aided by O'Nial, of Tyr Owen, made incursions into his estates in Meath. This brought over to Ireland William the young earl, who immediately commenced hostilities with De Lacy, which occasioned the devastation of Meath, and several adjoining districts. Whilst Pembroke, the protector, lived, the loyalty of the nobles was encouraged by the hopes of his favor, and their turbulence awed by his vigilance and abilities. But on the death of this great and virtuous nobleman, disorder among the native Irish recommenced, and continued through the whole of this and the four ensuing reigns.

After the death of Pembroke the protector, the archbishop of Dublin, was directed to resume the government of Ireland, which he administered till about the year 1224; and he was succeeded by William, the young earl of Pembroke, who governed the country for two years. Archbishop of Dublin governor.

Hubert de Burgo, justiciary of England, being then made deputy of Ireland, appointed as his substitute his kinsman Richard de Burgo, during whose administration an order was transmitted from England, commanding him at a certain day and place to summon the archbishops, bishops, abbots, priors, earls, barons, knights, freeholders, and sheriffs, and in their presence to cause to be read publicly the charter of King John, and that in obedience to it they should swear to observe the English laws and customs in Ireland, and that in behalf of the king he should command the laws and customs contained Under De Burgo, the Irish first admitted to English laws.

1227.

in the said charter to be firmly observed in the several counties of Ireland, of which public proclamation should be made in each of them respectively, that none might presume to disobey his majesty's command. This was an admission to the English laws and liberties in their full extent, of all such Irishmen, as renounced their ancient form of polity, and consented to hold their lands by English tenure.

Character
of Henry
III.

The reign of Henry III. was the longest, not the wisest of any of his predecessors. There was a native propensity in the character of that prince to give entire credit to the favourite of the day, who always possessed the ascendant over him. Such plea may excuse the man, not justify the king. He was as lavish of his favor, as of his treasure: prompt and fickle, both in love and hatred. It has been observed of him, that he never had a favourite, however great, whom he did not disgrace, nor an enemy, whom he took not into favor. With this disposition his coffers were ever empty: his barons from that spirit of independence and turbulence, which they had shewn to his father, were ready on all occasions to thwart his disposition to extravagance and despotism. They diffided in the king, and the king disliked them. This mutual diffidence broke out into that open warfare between them, which so much embittered the latter part of his reign. He was little likely with these dispositions to turn his thoughts to Ireland, further than to render it subservient to his own pecuniary purposes, or accessory to the private intrigues of his favorites, who succeeded each other in very rapid suc-

cession, and uniformly represented to the susceptible mind of the king, whatever their private or sinister interests suggested. Hence the almost unceasing distraction of Ireland during his reign. 1231.

The demands of De Burgo, who claimed a reversionary grant of Connaught from Henry II. upon the death of the reigning prince Cathal, the opposition of several of the Irish as well as English lords, the various claims and cross claims of the Geraldines, M'Carthy, O'Bryens, O'Nials, and the earl of Pembroke, all tended to weaken the English interest in that country, and rendered it consequently less valuable to the lucrative views of the impoverished and harassed Henry. Of all the barons who had expressed their dissatisfaction with Henry's conduct, none spoke more openly than Richard Earl of Pembroke, who had succeeded to the title and estates of his elder brother William, in 1231. The king had marked him as an object of his vengeance, and numbers were not wanting about the court to second the vindictive wishes of their sovereign. Internal
dissensions,

To avoid the consequence of Henry's resentment, Richard with a number of his friends fled to Wales, and thence to Ireland, where he possessed very considerable property and extensive influence. Before he had reached Ireland, Maurice Fitzgerald, then lord deputy, Richard de Burgo, Fitz Morris or de Maurisco, with other barons, had received orders from Henry to secure him on his arrival in that kingdom. To engage them the more effectually in this service, the lands of the Earl Marshal in Ireland Richard
Earl of
Pembroke
an object
of Henry's
vengeance.

1235.

were for his misconduct declared forfeited and granted to them and their heirs for ever. These ungenerous barons determined to execute the King's command by treachery. They spirited him up to take arms, helped him to obtain some successes, then pretended to treat with him on behalf of the King, and basely murdered him on the plains of Kildare.

Richard
Earl of
Pembroke
murdered.

When this transaction was known in England, the people, with whom Pembroke was a favorite, and the discontented lords, who considered him as one of the most active and powerful defenders of their just and common cause, were exceedingly provoked. The King, dreading the effect of the general indignation which it had excited in England, and the resentment of the Irish, especially of the inhabitants of Leinster, who were from other motives disposed to break out into open hostilities, put on the cloak of hypocrisy; pretended to be deeply affected by the death of Pembroke; denied that he had given the sanction of his authority to this act of the deputy and his accomplices; and vested Gilbert his next surviving brother with all the rights and possessions of his family. In 1229 Fitzgerald was appointed Lord Justice, and succeeded by Fitzmorris; but was next year restored to the government, which he held till 1245, when Henry substituted in his place his brother Sir John Fitzmorris.

English
laws again
secured in
Ireland.

In this disturbed state of Ireland, the King, who already had three different times granted the English laws and constitution to his Irish subjects, now sent over to them a fourth grant of the laws and liberties.

of England, with this specious preamble: "Because ^{1252.} for the common benefit of the land of Ireland, and the unity of the King's territories, the King, by the advice of his counsellors, hath provided, that all the laws and customs of the kingdom of England, may be possessed by the kingdom of Ireland, and that it may hold and be governed by the same laws as King John, when last in Ireland, commanded; because it is the pleasure of the King, that the common laws of England shall be current in Ireland. In like manner, under the authority of the King's new seal, it is commanded to the archbishops, bishops, abbots, priors, earls, barons, &c. that for the peace and tranquillity of the said land, they may permit themselves to be governed by the said laws, and that they may be observed throughout the land."

In the year twelve hundred and fifty three, Henry having projected a marriage betwixt his son Prince Edward and the Infanta of Spain, made a grant of his kingdom, with certain exceptions, to him and his heirs for ever; but with a special proviso, that Ireland should always be connected with, and dependant on the English crown. The general appointments under government were henceforth made in the name of Edward, and subject to his immediate authority: yet Henry jealous, lest his son should withdraw this kingdom from its allegiance to him as supreme liege lord, frequently interfered in the administration, and would not permit him to name the deputies the most agreeable to him; he even superseded some of his writs, and controuled him in

Ireland granted to prince Edward.

1254.

Henry applies for more money to carry on his war in France,

particular acts of government, which had not the sanction of his own letters patent.

Henry being engaged in a war upon the continent, in defence of his territories in France, and pressed for the means to carry it on, his Queen, as appears upon record, transmitted to Ireland the following requisition. "To the archbishops, bishops, abbots, priors, earls, barons, burgesses, freemen, &c. entreating from them assistance of men and money against the King of Castile, who had invaded Gascony, the compliance with which would turn to their immortal honor." This, according to Mr. Mollyneux, proves the antiquity of the Irish parliament, and that neither men nor money could be raised in Ireland without their consent.

General insurrections in Ireland.

Miserable was the state of Ireland at this period. M'Carthy rose in arms to expel the English from Desmond, which he claimed as his ancient patrimony. The Geraldines acted as if independent of all government, rose, and were defeated with great slaughter. Walter de Burgo attacked M'Carthy, slew him, and ravaged his country. The Geraldines seized the persons of Richard Capel Lord Justice, Richard de Burgo, and others, and cast them into prison; and the English power was threatened with utter extinction.

Quick succession of governors.


In 1267 Sir David Barry was made lord justice, who reduced the Geraldines, by taking from them the Castle of Sligo, and all their lands in Connaught; and thereby put an end to a war between them and the Burks. In the next year, Sir Robert de Ufford succeeded him as Lord Justice of Ireland, and in the same year Richard of Excester, was sent over as Lord Jus-

tice, who made a firmer peace, and lasting conciliation between the Burks and Geraldines, and soon after died. Then Sir James Audley, or De Aldithel, was appointed lord justice, during whose unfortunate government the English were almost exterminated in Connaught. These wars terminated in a great famine and pestilence, which spread over the whole kingdom. During these national calamities, the Pope demanded the tithes of all spiritual promotions for three years, to maintain his wars against the King of Arragon, to which the people, notwithstanding their poverty and misery, submitted. Such in those days was the influence of ecclesiastical power, so often prostituted to temporal purposes. The 23d of June, 1272, this lord justice was killed by a fall from his horse in Thomond, and was replaced by Maurice Fitz Maurice Fitz Gerald, created lord justice, who so continued till the sixteenth day of November, 1272, when Henry died in London, after a reign of six-and-fifty years.

1268.

CHAPTER V.

The Reign of King Edward the First.

1272.

 Edward
 called the
 English
 Justinian.

THE reign of this wise and political prince, who from his attention to the melioration and establishment of the laws of England, has been termed the English Justinian, during a reign of 35 years, took so slight an interest in the military operations in Ireland, that scarcely any of the English historians have thought fit to mention a single act of state of this monarch in Ireland during his whole reign: a circumstance the more remarkable, from his having received the grant of this country, which he governed in person some time during his father's life. His knowledge and admiration of the laws of England convinced him, that the full and extensive participation of them by his Irish subjects would be the most beneficial test of his parental regard and royal munificence. To this peculiarity of his reign we shall chiefly therefore direct the reader's attention.

Disturbed
 state of Ire-
 land.

Both the Irish and English lords and chieftains were at that time in too disturbed and lawless a state either to be sensible of the benefits intended them by their sovereign, or to act up to the allegiance they had unexceptionably sworn to him. The administration of Irish government, which in the preceding reign had been committed to Maurice Fitz Maurice Fitz Gerald was

confirmed to him soon after King Edward's accession to the throne, with a peremptory command to march immediately against some insurgents, who had carried war into the most flourishing parts of Leinster. Such was the weakness of the governor, that his own followers through treachery committed him to prison. His successor Glenville, who had married a daughter of Walter de Lacy, was far from improving the English interest. The very seat of government was insulted, and the British army received a signal defeat. Ulster at the same time was infested by marauders from Scotland; whilst other petty factions both of English and Irish pursued their private schemes of interest and revenge, and bad defiance to all legal authority.

In this state of public and private disorder, those Irish who lay contiguous to the county lands, or whose settlements interested those of the King's subjects, suffered most from the manifold disadvantages of adhering to the old institutions, which afforded them less security than the English law. No reasonable hopes of exterminating the English were longer entertained. The more steady and prudent therefore sought to change the state of tributary vassalage to the King of England, for the security and advantage of complete English subjects. They consequently offered, through Ufford, the chief governor, 8000 marks to the King, provided he would grant the free enjoyment of the laws of England to the whole body of Irish natives indiscriminately. The answer of Edward be-

1273.

The Irish
pay 8000
marks to be
admitted
English
subjects.

1278.

Answer of
Edward to
the Irish
petition.

speaks the wise policy and laudable feelings of that prince towards Ireland.

“ Edward by the grace of God, King of England, Lord of Ireland, and Duke of Aquitain, to our truly and well-beloved Robert de Ufford, Justiciary of Ireland, greeting :”

“ The improvement of the state and peace of our land of Ireland, signified to us by your letter, gives us exceeding joy and pleasure. We entirely commend your diligence in this matter, hoping (by the Divine assistance) that the things there begun so happily by you, shall, as far as in you lieth, be still further prosecuted with the greater vigor and success.”

“ And whereas the community of Ireland hath made a tender to us of 8000 marks, on condition that we grant to them the laws of England to be used in the aforesaid land, we will you to know, that inasmuch as the laws used by the Irish are hateful to God and repugnant to all justice, and having held diligent conference and full deliberation with our council on this matter, it seems sufficiently expedient to us and to our council, to grant to them the English laws ; provided always, that the general consent of our people, or at least of the prelates and nobles of that land well-affected to us shall uniformly concur in this behalf.”

“ We therefore command you, that having entered into treaty with these Irish people, and examined diligently into the wills of our commons, prelates, and nobles well-affected to us in this behalf, and having agreed between you and them on the highest fine of

money, that you can obtain on this account, to be paid to us, you do with the consent of all, or at least of the greater and sounder part aforesaid, make such a composition with the said people, in the premises, as you shall judge in your diligence to be most expedient for our honor and interest. Provided however, that these people shall hold in readiness a body of good and stout footmen, amounting to such a number as you shall agree upon with them for one turn only, to repair to us when we shall think fit to demand them."

1278

These politic and benevolent intentions of Edward were thwarted by his servants, who, to forward their own rapacious views of extortion and oppression, prevented a convention of the King's barons and other subjects in Ireland. Edward was assured, that compliance with his commands was under the existing circumstances absolutely impossible. To this source may be traced the rise of the aristocratic ascendancy kept up in Ireland, against the immediate wishes and interest of the crown, by the corrupt practice of its servants. This baneful precedent has been followed through centuries of disastrous government over that country. Edward was deceived and injured by his servants, in whom he fully confided. But the cry of oppression was not silenced; the application of the Irish was renewed, and the King repeatedly solicited to accept them as free and faithful subjects. These reiterated addresses to the throne could not have been altogether suppressed from the King's knowledge: for two years after he again summoned the lords spiritual and tem-

The views of the king counteracted by his ministers.

1280. poral, and the whole body of English subjects in the land of Ireland, to assemble and deliberate on these petitions. The advice of evil counsellors appears, however, to have influenced the declaration he made to his Irish subjects. He no longer avowed the intent of judging personally of their grievances; but still promised them redress upon such representations, as should be made to him, through his officers and council, which was one of the chief grievances against which they remonstrated. Thus did the King, speaking from the genuine impulse of his mind (*motu proprio*) strongly mark his displeasure at his servants' reluctance to take an affair of such moment into immediate deliberation. Yet official ascendancy was too powerful. The King's interest was sacrificed to the corrupt views of his ministers, and the wise and benevolent mandates of the Sovereign were so effectually contravened and defeated, that during the course of his reign several individuals of the Irish race were necessitated to sue for particular charters of denization on their intermarriages with the English. This would have been futile and absurd, had the servants of the crown carried into effect the benevolent intentions of the sovereign.

Fatal opposition to the wishes of the Irish.

Such determined opposition to the wishes of the Irish people and the welfare of their sovereign, could not but irritate the spirits of the Irish, give new edge to their resentments, and sow the seeds of irreconcilable hatred between them and their oppressors *. This

* "As long as they (the Irish) were out of the protection of the law," says Sir John Davies, "so as every Englishman might oppress, spoil, and kill them without controulment, how was it possible they should be other than outlaws and enemies to the crown of

fatal policy of refusing the just and reasonable requests of the Irish was instantly followed by its necessary effect. It drove them into insurrection, which diminished the number of the king's subjects, exhausted his treasure, impoverished the country, increased the hatred of the English name, and forwarded no other views, than those of the rapacious and corrupt ministers, who reaped their own harvest from the country's ruin.

1292.

This blind infatuation of the English government in their conduct towards Ireland is wholly unaccountable; for although they had not full possession of one-third of the island, they cantonized the whole country amongst ten English families, who called themselves owners and lords of all. Nothing was left to be granted to or enjoyed by the natives: nor is there a record for the space of 300 years and upwards after the invasion, of any grant of land to an Irish lord, except one from the crown to the King of Thomond of his land, during the minority of Henry III. and the treaty with the King of Connaught. These English grantees became a new set of petty sovereigns, who, according to Sir John Davies, could not endure any kings in Ireland but themselves: nay, hardly that the crown of England itself should have any juris-

England? If the king would not admit them to the condition of subjects, how could they learn to acknowledge and obey him as their sovereign?" and, "in a word, if the English would neither in peace govern them by the law, nor in war root them out by the sword, must they not needs be pricks in their eyes, and thorns in their sides, till the world's end?" Day Disc.

1282.

dition over them. They exercised all manner of royal power and authority, within their petty sovereignties more arbitrarily, than any English monarch had done over the kingdom*. No wonder then, that they should oppose and resist every attempt of the English cabinet to admit the Irish into a full participation of their laws and constitution. As by such grants of whole provinces and petty kingdoms, these few English lords assumed the propriety of all the lands comprized in them, it became impracticable for Government to give legal titles to the natives. The conquest of the whole country thus became impossible otherwise, than by the utter extirpation of the native race of Irish, which the Government was in fact unable, and from interested motives, probably unwilling to effect. The Irish, who inhabited the lands, that were fully conquered and reduced, were in the condition of slaves and villeins, and thereby rendered more profit to their lords, than if they had been free subjects of the king; and as these oppressive and rapacious royelets flattered themselves with the pleasing prospect of realizing their several grants to their full nominal extent, they looked eagerly to this profitable extension of vassalage and slavery, which would not take place, if those out of the pale were once received into the King's protection, and made liege men and free subjects. Thus early

* The complaints of the abuses of these English settlers were emphatically compressed into this strong expression; *ipsis Hybernis Hyberniores*.

were the peace, welfare, and prosperity of the Irish nation sacrificed to the corrupt influence and interests of some few men in power *.

1295.

Edward, to supply the necessities of his government, had recourse in a most unconstitutional manner to the interposition of the Pope, and obtained the grant of a tenth of all the ecclesiastical revenues of the Irish clergy, on pretence of providing for an expedition to the holy land. But that clergy, which had always withstood the usurpations of temporal power by the Pope more firmly, than the English, was neither disposed to countenance this innovation, nor enabled to comply with the demand. By appeal to Rome, the illegal requisition was avoided; but Edward obtained from the more docile laity of Ireland, after some hesitation, a grant of a fifteenth of their effects.

Edward obtains a fifteenth from the laity.

To enforce these exactions with prudence, and allay the public irritation, William De Vezey, who bore the character of humanity and integrity, was intrusted with the government of Ireland. In his opposition to the Irish insurgents he was tolerably successful; but in probing the evil, he so provoked John Fitz Thomas Fitz Gerald, Baron of Ophaly, that they both appealed to the king, before whom they appeared in person, pleaded against each other, and challenged the combat; of which our historians give both a romantic and burlesque account.

Differences between De Vezey and Fitz Gerald.

In 1295 John Wogan was appointed to the government as possessing a discretion unknown to his prede-

The first Irish parliament.

* See Dav. Disc. *passim*.

1295.

cessors. Amidst the contending parties he procured a truce for two years, that he might have leisure to apply some remedy to the general disorder of the realm. A parliament was in the mean time summoned more regularly, than any which had hitherto been convened in Ireland. Writs were issued to the lords spiritual and temporal, and to the sheriffs, directing them to return two knights for each of the counties. This assembly constituted properly the first parliament of this imperfect kingdom. Although it were inconsiderable in point of number, yet by the ordinances it enacted, it has the merit of having maturely weighed the public grievances, not without some real intention of providing effectual redress. But the wishes of the King were still fatally frustrated by the more powerful action of his corrupt servants. Wholesome ordinances were enacted, but mischievous practices were set up and countenanced to render them inefficient.

Wholesome
statutes of
the first
parliament.

It was enacted, that tenants of every degree should provide according to their rank towards a militia, and that absentees should contribute out of their Irish revenues to that establishment. It was also enacted, that in particular incursions of the Irish, the neighbouring settlers, who should not attempt to assist the government, or repel the invasion, should for their wilful neglect be liable to pay damages to their suffering neighbours. And in order to prevent the national evil of frequent military expeditions by the great lords, it was also ordained, that in future no lord should make war but by license of the chief governor, or by special mandate of the king. Several other wholesome ordi-

1295.
stances of like, though subordinate tendency were passed by the express order of Edward, who it appears really wished to promote the welfare of Ireland, though in so doing he forgot not his own interest, however he were thwarted in it by the mal-administration of this distant government. In cases of any sudden insurrection of the Irish, when the chief governor was at a distance, it was further enacted, that from the moment hostilities commenced the country attacked should instantly, and without further orders rise in arms, and maintain the war at their own charges without intermission or suspension, till the enemy should be reduced or consent to a cessation, or the chief governor should otherwise direct. And in order to deprive the enemy of their usual shelter, every lord was directed to repair and clear the roads through his woods and forests, to make bridges, pathways, and other provisions for traversing the country with readiness and security, and pursuing the insurgents into their retreats. And for the purpose of preventing any mistake between Englishmen and Irishmen (for killing the latter there was no punishment), it was still further enacted, that all Englishmen should conform strictly to the garb and tonsure of their own countrymen, at least in the tonsure of their hair, on pain of seizure of their lands and chattels, and imprisonment of their persons. And lastly, two lords in every county and liberty, in which Irishmen were resident, were, in the absence of the chief governor, vested with full power to treat with the Irish in all matters, in which the public tranquillity was concerned.

1307.

Internal
disorders,
and death
of Edward
I.

These ordinances devised with equity and policy, at first produced a partial effect in checking, though they never effectually put an end to the disorders of the realm. A spirit of insubordination giving free course to the treachery and turbulence both of the English and Irish chieftains, rather increased than diminished them. Disorder reached the very seat of government ; and the utmost efforts of the chief governor, and the few well-affected lords, were scarcely sufficient to defend even the province of Leinster. Whilst the affairs of Ireland were thus embroiled, Edward died at the age of 69 years, during 35 of which he sat upon the thrones of England and Ireland.

CHAPTER VI.

The Reign of Edward II.

A MORE unfortunate monarch than Edward II. never sat on the English throne, which he ascended in the 24th year of his age. He was gifted with all the qualities of mind and body, which are generally allowed to render the possessor amiable. His flatterers have not attempted to extol his eminent virtue, nor have his enemies charged him with any particular vice. He was unfortunate in being married to a woman of intrigue (Isabella, a daughter of France). The sensibility of his disposition converted the friendship of the man into the favouritism of the monarch; which not only in the days of those boisterous barons, but in the more refined times of modern improvements, is the most fatal propensity, in which a limited monarch can indulge.

1307.

Character
of Edward
II.

Edward's first act of sovereignty over Ireland was to render it subservient to the very fatality of his reign. He had during the life of his father contracted a warm friendship for a young gentleman of Gascony, Piers Gavaston, whom Edward the First had selected for the companion of his youth, and whom nature had lavishly endowed with the most captivating qualities. So powerful an ascendancy had the amiable powers of Gavaston acquired over the mind of this young prince, that his father found it necessary to

Gavaston
the favorite.

1308.

proscribe him the kingdom ; and on his death-bed, solemnly enjoined his son never to recall him. Scarcely however had the breath left his father's body, when Gavaston was recalled and welcomed with the investiture of the Duchy of Cornwall, which had lately escheated to the crown, by the death of Edmond, the son of Richard, who had been elected king of the Romans ; and he was married to Henry's niece, a sister of the Earl of Gloucester. The royal favor and the personal accomplishments of Gavaston raised against him an host of enemies, from amongst the English nobility ; to whom Gavaston behaved with insolent disdain. Edward left Gavaston protector of the kingdom with extraordinary powers, when he went to France to be married to the princess Isabella. She being of an intriguing disposition, (what lady of the French court is not so ?) became soon jealous of his influence upon the mind of her husband, and joined the Earl of Lancaster, and several bishops and barons, in imperiously insisting upon the banishment of the favorite. They extorted an oath from him, that he would never return and enforced it by a conditional excommunication from the bishops, in case he should infringe it. The interference of parliament intimidated the king into compliance : he reluctantly submitted to the commands of the overbearing barons, but previously invested Gavaston with fresh grants of lands in England and Gascony.

Gavaston
sent to Ire-
land.

Instead of dismissing Gavaston to the continent, Edward contrived to dignify his exile, by appointing him his vicegerent in Ireland, and had the indiscre-

tion to accompany him in great pomp as far as Bristol. In a country, where he had made no personal enemies, his attractive qualities, his magnificent retinue, and above all his bold spirit of enterprize, at first endeared him to the Irish and English settlers. He at once marched out against the turbulent Septs, and quickly subdued them. O'Dempsey met him in the field, and was totally defeated. Having tranquillized Leinster, he pierced into Thomond; and there defeated O'Bryen, who had lately made vigorous resistance to the English arms. He erected some castles, and opened communications throughout the English territory. Gavaston soon provoked the envy of the great lords of Ireland to whom a government of such weight and splendor could not long remain indifferent. Richard Earl of Ulster at this time the most powerful chieftain in all Ireland affected in pride and state to vie with the governor, and is said to have threatened Gavaston with hostilities; but before their jealousies had produced any open violence, Gavaston was recalled, and the kingdom quickly relapsed into the double calamity of a weak government and a turbulent aristocracy.

Nothing could mark the imbecility of the Irish government more, than the frequent change of their governors, of whom during a reign of 19 years there were seventeen. The Earl of Ulster, though never intrusted with that situation, was appointed plenipotentiary, to conclude a treaty with Robert Bruce, the Scotch monarch: and the Scottish deputies attended him in Ireland. He was so elevated with this mark of distinction, that he afterwards affected independent sovereignty,

1308.

Earl of Ulster plenipotentiary to treat with Robert Bruce.

1315. and with an armed force, marched into Thomond, in support of some private pretensions, where he was defeated by the Geraldines under Richard De Clare. He was made prisoner, and obliged to submit to the terms of the conqueror. An accommodation followed, and was cemented by the marriage of Maurice, and Thomas Fitz John, (afterwards the heads of the houses of Desmond and Kildare,) with the two daughters of the earl of Ulster: the union of which families seemed to promise lasting tranquillity to Ireland, when new enmities and new disorders broke out.

The Irish offer the sovereignty of their country to a Scotch monarch.

The treaty, which Edward II. had concluded with the Scots, having been transacted in Ireland, may, from intercourse with the Scotch Commissioners, have increased the Irish hatred of the English government. Robert Bruce soon violated the terms; war recommenced; and the gallant Bruce turned the scale by the memorable victory he obtained over a more numerous army of the English at Bannockburn. This sharpened the impatience of the Irish and the chieftains of Ulster, to take advantage of the distressful state of Britain: they addressed themselves to Robert Bruce, and pathetically entreated his assistance, to enable them as brethren and kinsmen, to avenge themselves upon the common enemy. They offered to receive a sovereign from Scotland, to rescue and preserve them from the oppression of the English. Edward, the brother of Robert Bruce, was named and accepted by the chieftains of Ulster, who were assured, that he should speedily be sent to their

deliverance, with a formidable force. The intelligence was spread through their province with joy, and extensive preparations were made to insure success. ^{1315.}

In May 1315, Edward Bruce landed about 6000 men in Ulster, to assert his new claim to the sovereignty of Ireland. ^{Edward Bruce lands in Ireland.} The Irish lords of Ulster and many others flocked to his standard. The English settlers of the north were butchered without mercy, their castles levelled, and their towns set on fire. Almost all Ireland in a short time declared for the Scot. Some battles were fought, and vast desolation, both from the sword and famine, spread through the land. Edward Bruce was solemnly crowned at Dundalk, and his brother Robert landed in Ireland with a powerful army. The general dearth obliged Robert almost immediately to return with a part of his army; yet the forces, which he left behind were instantly increased by a conflux of the discontented Irish, and numbers of degenerate English, and amongst the others, by the De Lacys and their numerous adherents.

War, pestilence, and famine united to complete the calamities of that unfortunate country, when the English lords, expecting no vigor from their own government in England, determined to rally amongst themselves, and entered into an association to support the interests of Edward II. with their lives and fortunes. In order to give countenance to their zeal and loyalty, the royal favor was extended to the most distinguished among them. John Fitz Thomas Baron of Ophaly was created Earl of Kildare; Lord Ed- ^{The English rally amongst themselves.}

1315. } mond Butler received the title of Earl of Carrick, Desmond and Kildare eminently exerted themselves in resisting the general insurrection.

Battle of
Athunree.

The English at length marched with a considerable force into Connaught, with a particular view to subdue Fedlim O'Connor, who had most perfidiously joined the Scotch invader. His forces were collected, and the contending parties met near the town of Athunree, where a desperate engagement at length terminated in favor of the English army*. This disaster had little influence on Edward Bruce; he continued his destructive progress without molestation to the very walls of Dublin. Thither the earl of Ulster had retired; and his sister being married to Robert King of Scotland, raised so much suspicion of his secret disloyalty, that the chief magistrate of the city imprisoned him; nor could all the authority of the

* This effort to regain the kingdom of Ireland, by young Fedlim O'Connor, was defeated in the loss of this battle. It was the most bloody contest, that had ever taken place between the two nations; it happened on the 10th of August, and continued from the rising to the setting sun. The Irish attacked with the most ferocious impetuosity; but they were neither armed nor disciplined: they were rather headed than commanded by their young warlike chieftain. Such was the enthusiasm of his army, that above 10000 of them fell in the field; amongst which were twenty-nine subaltern chiefs of Connaught. Tradition states, that after this decisive battle, the O'Connor family, like the Fabian, was so nearly exterminated, that throughout all Connaught not one of the name remained (except Fedlim's brother) who was capable of bearing arms.

English government procure his enlargement. The ^{1316.} English interest was much weakened by the defection of the powerful family of De Lacy. The heads of it were formally summoned to appear and defend themselves against the charge of treason. They resented the indignity offered to their grandeur, by slaying the messenger. To revenge this outrage, their lands were seized, and they fled into Connaught to unite with their Scottish ally.

The disastrous prospect of affairs in Ireland drove the English government to the unchristian and scandalous shift of prostituting the spiritual powers of the church to the profane use of state policy, and perhaps of forwarding the unjust and wicked designs of corrupt men. It is here particularly noticed, because it drew from the more reflecting and better instructed part of the Irish nation, a solemn publication of their national grievances, and displayed such a portrait of English oppression and wickedness, as more than softens the harsh terms, in which the Irish historians usually represent them. The court of Rome found its interest in keeping up the arrogant policy, by which Adrian had made, and Alexander had confirmed the grant of Ireland to the English monarch: and England deemed it prudent to render every adventitious power ancillary to her ultimate design of subjugating that country to her absolute sway. So powerfully therefore did the English agents press the mutual interest of both courts to resist the erection of a new Scotch dynasty in Ireland, that a solemn sentence of excommunication was published

1316. from the papal chair against all the enemies of Edward II. and nominally against Robert and Edward Bruce, who were then invading Ireland for the purpose of securing to the latter the throne, to which the generality of that nation had called him.

Strong remonstrance of the Irish to Pope John XXII.

This interposition of the pontiff had been expected; and to guard against it, the Irish presented to Rome a most affecting remonstrance on the wretched state of their nation, and the oppression they had long endured from the English government *. This remon-

* It is given in the appendix to my Historical Review, as mentioned p. 165. The following lines convey some idea of the spirit of the whole :—" And those kings were not Englishmen, nor of any other nation but our own, who with pious liberality bestowed ample endowments in lands, and many immunities on the Irish church ; though in modern times our churches are most wantonly plundered by the English, by whom they are almost entirely despoiled. And though these our kings so long and so strenuously defended against the kings and tyrants of different regions the inheritance given them by God, preserving their innate liberty at all times inviolate, yet Adrian the IV. your predecessor, an Englishman, more even by affection and prejudice than by birth, blinded by that affection and the false suggestions of Henry II. king of England, under whom, and perhaps by whom St. Thomas of Canterbury was murdered, gave the dominion of this our kingdom, by a certain form of words, to that same Henry II, whom he ought rather to have stript of his own on account of the above crime. Thus omitting all legal and juridical order, and alas ! his national prejudices and predilections blindfolding the discernment of such a pontiff, without our being guilty of any crime, without any rational cause whatever, he gave us up to be mangled to pieces by the teeth of the most cruel and voracious of all monsters, &c."

strance produced so strong an effect upon Pope John the XXII. that his holiness immediately transmitted a copy of it to the King, earnestly exhorting him to redress the grievances complained of, as the only sure expedient to bring back the Irish to their allegiance, and then they would be without excuse should they persist in their revolt. The advice of the spiritual pastor was in part attended to by the King; yet the distresses of famine, pestilence, and war continued to exhaust the country. Sir John Bermingham was sent by Alexander Bicknor, archbishop of Dublin, the lord deputy, into Ulster, with several distinguished officers in his train, and about 1500 chosen men. Bruce met him with an army more than double his force at Dundalk. The conflict was sustained on each side with great bravery, but terminated in favor of the English. Edward Bruce fell in battle, and Robert Bruce arrived with his forces only to hear of the defeat and death of his brother, and instantly retreated. Bermingham received the earldom of Louth, and manor of Alherdee, or Athunree, in reward of his services.

The English cause acquired considerable strength from the death of Edward Bruce, who had been solemnly crowned monarch of Ireland. The general calamities of the country however rendered the advantages scarcely an object of congratulation to the victors. There remained a devastated country, an exhausted treasury, and a thin population, equally disposed to avail itself of the abuses of the old, and to

1318.

The mis-
chiefs of
coigne and
livery.

1318. oppose the introduction of new institutions. Lawless violence, private revenge, and uncontroled excesses prevailed every where. The English government was harassed and distressed as much by the recreant English, as by the obstinate Irish chieftains. These internal calamities were aggravated by the notorious imbecility and corruption of those, to whom the reins of government were intrusted. They sanctioned several abuses: and although they could not prevent the ordinary effects of famine and war, yet at their door lay the unprecedented disasters of that refined improvement upon national calamity, anciently called *coigne and livery*, (and latterly *free quarters*), which was a forced quartering of the soldiers on the inhabitants, leaving them to support themselves by arbitrary exactions. This engendered and gave impunity to a system of riot, rapine, rape, massacre, oppression, and every vice that can degrade mankind*.

* Of this barbarous and nefarious practice, Sir John Davies thus speaks. Dav. Dis. p. 30 and 123. "In the time of king Edward II. Maurice Fitz-Thomas of Desmond being chief commander of the army against the Scots, began that wicked extortion of *coygne and livery and pay*, that is, he and his army tooke horsemeate and mansmeate and money at their pleasure, without any ticket or any other satisfaction. And this was, after that time, the general fault of all the governours and commanders of the army in this lande." And, "By this it appeareth, why the extortion of *coygne and livery* is called in the old statutes of Ireland a *damnable custome*, and the imposing and taking thereof made *high treason*. And it is said in an ancient discourse *Of the Decay of Ireland*, that though it were first invented in hell, yet if it had

It appears, that Edward II. again sought to support his authority by help of the see of Rome, the temporal power of which had in those days a most unwarrantable influence on the minds of most christians. He had the address, in the twelfth year of his reign, to prevail on John XXII. to release the payment of Peterpence, which had been granted to his predecessors from the kingdoms of England and Ireland. In the sixteenth year of his reign, his holiness, at the instigation of the English monarch, imposed on the clergy of Ireland a disme for two years, payable to the King. It was to be levied by the dean and chapter of Dublin. But the prelates and clergy refused to pay it without pro-

1523.
Ireland freed from Peterpence, and two years disme granted and refused.

been used and practised there, as it hath been in Ireland, it had long since destroyed the very kingdome of Belzebub." And (p. 171), " But the most wicked and mischievous custome of all others was that of *coygne and livery*, often before mentioned; which consisted in taking of *mansmeate, horsemeate, and money* of all the inhabitants of the country at the will and pleasure of the soldier, who, as the phrase of Scripture is, *did eate up the people as it were bread*, for that he had no other entertainment. This extortion was originally Irish, for they used to lay *bonaght* upon their people, and never gave their soldier any other pay. But when the English had learned it, they used it with more insolency, and made it more intollerable; for this oppression was not temporary, or limited either to place or time; but because there was every where a continuall warre either offensive or defensive, and every lord of a countrie, and everie marcher, made warre and peace at his pleasure, it became universal and perpetuall; and was indeede the most heavy oppression, that ever was used in anie christian or heathen kingdom."

1323. { duction of the original bull. This they conceived the most plausible pretext for resisting the unconstitutional exercise of papal power to tax or appropriate the property of the kingdom. They had twice before resisted these exactions*.

Edward II.
the best legislator to
Ireland.

The misfortunes and tragical end of Edward I having taken place in England, we cannot properly introduce them into the history of that part of his dominions, which took no share in them. Ireland owes more to this King's efforts to improve the country by legislation, than to those of any of his predecessors. The salutary statutes and ordinances made by this monarch at different periods are stated at large by Riley and Prynne †; the latter of whom ushers those passed in the seventeenth year of his reign, Nottingham, "for the better government of Ireland and preventing corruptions and abuses in his office there, to his own or his subjects' injury or oppression," with this observation; *a notable precedent worthy imitation in all ages and places throughout the King's dominions.*

Edward II.
favourably
disposed to
Ireland.

A strong tide of adverse fortune ran against the monarch. He had probably received favourable impressions of Ireland from the reports of his favourite Gavaston; and, in the pressure of his misfortunes

* It cannot escape the reader's observation, that the modern Irish Roman catholic clergy has upon oath renounced and disclaimed all temporal power in the Pope.

† *Bil. Pl. Parl. App. and Prynne's Anim.* p. 264.

England, he is reported to have seriously attempted 1327.
to throw himself into the arms of his Irish subjects. ~~~~~
Amongst the charges against this unfortunate prince,
his enemies most unwarrantably laid at his door the
loss of his Irish dominions.

CHAPTER VII.

The Reign of Edward III.

1327.

Rapid suc-
cession of
governors
impolitic.

EDWARD III. upon the resignation of his unfortunate father, was proclaimed king, in the sixteenth year of his age. A regency of twelve governors was placed over him, but they were merely nominal ; and Isabella, the queen mother, with her favourite Mortimer, exercised the power of the realm. Upon a general review of this King's reign, which continued fifty years, seven months, and twenty-seven days, the observation recurs, which has before been made upon the rapid succession of governors intrusted with the administration of Irish affairs ; a system, which must essentially have defeated the effects of sound policy upon an unsettled and naturally turbulent government. There were, during this reign, no fewer than forty-three changes of governors ; thus none had the fair opportunity of correcting the errors of his predecessor, or reaping the fruits of his own harvest, however perfect the seed and the preparation of the soil for its rendering fruit in due season.

Internal in-
subordina-
tion of the
country.

The whole of our third Edward's reign was an interrupted tissue of the defection and reduction, conciliation and relapse, punishment and revenge of different chieftains both English and Irish. They indiscriminately affected sovereignty, prosecuted and defended their private claims by force of arms, concluded

and followed up alliances among themselves like independent potentates, although they all affected to treat the British monarch as the common sovereign paramount. The particulars of this general insubordination would disclose little of the political relations of the two kingdoms. The English and Irish historians are often at variance in detailing the successes and effects of these domestic contests. The sole instruction to be drawn from the history of these unsettled times will be from the acts of state, which solemn record places out of uncertainty or doubt. They display a real anxiety in the British monarch to promote the happiness and welfare of his Irish subjects, and the fatal counter-action of the personal benevolence of the King by the corrupt government of deputies and their clerks.

1327.

The English nation considered the disgrace and misfortunes of the late reign of Edward II. as far as they concerned England, to have been cured by the vigor and glory of his successor. As to Ireland, the general effects of the reigns of father and son were not so different. The final subjugation and amelioration of the Irish people by legislation, appears to have been the common object of Edward II. and Edward III.; yet the latter, with all the power, which he acquired and preserved over his turbulent barons and English subjects during his long and prosperous reign, appears to have advanced the English interest in Ireland very little beyond what he found it on the resignation of his unfortunate father.

Reigns of Edward II. and Edward III. not very different as to Ireland.

In the first year of this King's reign the Lord Arnold Power, Lord Morris Fitz-Thomas, the Lord Morris

Two parliaments at Kilkenny and Dublin.

1327.



Butler and their confederates were in open warfare: whereupon the Earl of Kildare, then lord justice of Ireland; and others of the King's council summoned them to appear at a parliament at Kilkenny, where the Lord Morris Butler and Morris Fitz-Thomas demanded the King's charter of peace of the King's council, which took till Easter to advise thereon. In the second year of Edward the Third, there was a parliament at Dublin, at which the Earl of Ulster and all the nobles of Ireland were present, and at which some of the Irish petitioned the King for a general statute, that all Irishmen might use the laws of England, without purchasing particular charters to enable them; which petition was remitted to the next parliament.

Parliament
of Dublin.

In the year 1329, the nobles of Ireland came to the parliament at Dublin, where a peace was renewed between the Earl of Ulster, the Lord Morris Fitz-Thomas, and others; and these lords, with the King's council ordained, that "the King's peace should be fully kept, so that every nobleman and chieftain should keep in his own sept, retinue, and servants."

In the next year a parliament was holden at Kilkenny, at which was expelled Briene O'Briene out of Urkuffa.

The most
solemn par-
liament
that had
been con-
vened in
Ireland.

In 1331, Anthony, Lord Lucy, justice of Ireland, convened a parliament at Dublin, which several of the old lords did not attend; whereupon he removed to Kilkenny, proroguing the parliament to a more distant day. Here Lord Thomas Fitz-Thomas and others,

who had before absented themselves, submitted to the King's mercy, and solemnly received the royal pardon. 1331.

In the same year Edward, by advice of his council in a parliament of England, passed several important and interesting ordinances for the reformation of the state, prosperity, and tranquillity of Ireland, and transmitted them to his chief officers there*. He likewise issued a writ to his chief justice to follow the law of England in the recovering of wardships in lieu of the Irish customs.

Several ordinances made in the English parliament for the regulation of Ireland.

The Irish of Leinster having also in this year committed great outrages and sacrileges, the Pope sent his bull to the archbishop of Dublin, commanding him to excommunicate them; which the Irish contemning, invaded the county of Wexford. The King was advised by the parliament then sitting, to go over to Ireland in person with an army to suppress the rebels, for which end he issued commissions to raise footmen and men at arms to attend him, and to provide victuals and ships to transport them. These, with the advice of the same parliament, he soon recalled; and in lieu thereof issued a commission to the Prior of the hospital of St. John's of Jerusalem in Ireland, to treat with the captains of those rebels, and grant them safe conducts for that purpose, and to receive

Papal bull to excommunicate the lawless Irish.

* *Parl. 3. Ed. 3d. Pars. No. 25. apud Prynne, Animad. 267, and on which he remarks, "an excellent ordinance to preserve the peace of Ireland, with little expense to the King, if duly executed."*

1833.

them to his grace and peace upon such terms, as he should think most expedient, and upon fresh promises of future obedience and allegiance.

Murder of
the Earl of
Ulster re-
venged.

In the year 1333, John, Lord Darcy, lord chief justice of Ireland, assembled a parliament at Dublin, where, by advice of all the states of the land, he marched with an army to Carickfergus, to avenge the murder of William Burke, Earl of Ulster, some time before treacherously slain, which he effected. Nothing more appears to have been done in this parliament.

Convention
of Kilkenny.

In the fifteenth year of this King's reign, he was improvidently advised to revoke all the grants, that had been made by himself or his father, which revocation occasioned discontent throughout the country. Before this time, say the annals *, "there never was known so notable and manifest a division in Ireland between those, that were English by birth and English in blood." The country was in such a state, that, as Prynne expresses himself, "it was upon the point of being lost for ever out of the kings of England's hands." Whereupon Sir John Morris, the chief governor summoned the parliament to meet at Dublin in the month of October. But the mayors of the King's cities, and the better sort of the nobility and gentry of the land had, without the privity, advice, or consent of the lord justice or any of the King's officers, announced a more general parliament, to be holden at Kilkenny, in the month of November, for the benefit of the King and the country. It was not con-

* P. 168. Vide Pry. Anim. 271.

sequently attended by any of the King's servants. This meeting of so respectable a representation of the country, though self-delegated, and legally therefore no more, than a convention, shows not only the weakness of the King's government, which did not attempt to interrupt it, but also its corruption from the resolutions and ordinances unanimously passed by the members composing the meeting, of whom Desmond was the chief.

1341.

They agreed and ordained, that solemn ambassadors should be sent with all speed to the King of England, to protest against his ministers' unequal and unjust government of Ireland; and to intimate, that thenceforth they neither could nor would endure the realm of Ireland to be ruled by his ministers, as it had wont to be; and particularly they complained of them, in the following questions: "*Imprimis*, How a land full of warres could be governed by him, that was unskilful in warre? Secondly, How a minister or officer of the King should in a short time grow to so much wealth? Thirdly, How it came to pass, that the King was never the richer for Ireland?"

Ordinances
of the con-
vention of
Kilkenny.

It appears from the records in the Tower, that the King was not inattentive to the complaints of his Irish subjects: for several writs (sixteen in number) were issued this year, wherein the King recited not only a general, but some particular revocations of lands, grants, and gifts, and allowances of accounts and monies received in Ireland (some few excepted which he ratified), and also commanded strict inquiries to be made and sent to him of the numbers,

Remedial
writs.

1342.

fees, deportment, abuses, usurpations, sufficiency and insufficiency of his officers there, especially of his treasurer of the exchequer, removing some of them, and providing against abuses and extravagancies in his exchequer and treasury for the future.

Petition of
the nobility
and gentry
to the King.

The next year * a special and memorable petition was transmitted to the King from all the prelates, earls, barons, and commons of Ireland, by the Prior of the hospital of St. John's of Jerusalem, and Thomas Wogan, their special messengers from the parliament at Kilkenny, touching the redress of several misdemeanors and grievances occasioned by his officers there, to the prejudice of the King and people, with the respective answers of his council, afterwards ratified by the King, and ordered to be thenceforth observed in Ireland †.

Ordinances
for the wel-
fare and in-
dependence
of the king-
dom.

This King was anxious not only to improve the government, but also to give independent consequence to this kingdom. Therefore, in the twenty-ninth

* Close Rol. 16 Ed. III.

† In the patent rolls of this same year, there are several patents appointing a new baron and chancellor of the exchequer at Dublin, a new deputy lord chief justice, and a new chancellor of Ireland: the others having been removed, probably for the misdemeanors contained in the petitions referred to; and some castles were likewise committed to the custody of others, upon the same account. And in the Parliamentary Rolls of 18 Edw. 3. there are patents appointing a new chief justice of Ireland, and a new judge; and one containing a special pardon to the archbishop of Dublin, late treasurer of Ireland, for sundry false writs and acquittances, which he had put into his treasurer's account, in deceit of the King.

year of his reign, he made an ordinance for the easier restoring of lands seised into his hands, and reforming of errors in judgments given in the courts of Ireland, by the Irish, and not by the English parliament only, as formerly.

1355.

Two years after, he made several wholesome ordinances "for the better government of the church and state in Ireland, the maintenance of the good laws and statutes of England there established, (especially the statutes against the invasions, abuses of rebels, brokers, purveyors, champerty, clerks of the markets, the great charter, and statute of Winchester,) the suppression of robberies, burning of houses, depredations, and other abuses by kernes and others; and the manifold extortions, and oppressions of the subjects by the King's officers, as well great as small, especially of the exchequer and court of wards *."

For giving effect to these ordinances †, and reconciling the minds of his Irish subjects, the King about the same time issued a commission for one year to his chief justice in Ireland, "by the advice of his chancellor and treasurer, to receive all persons, as well Eng-

For like purposes pardons granted and perpetual vicarages established.

* These ordinances are to be seen in the Tower, in the Statute Rolls of that year.

† These ordinances were so grateful, useful, and necessary for the good government, ease, safety, and preservation of the King's loyal subjects in Ireland, that they were ratified, exemplified, and sent into Ireland to be observed in the seventeenth year of King Richard the Second. The exemplification of them may be seen in Rilye's Pl. Par. Appendix, p. 592 to 601.

1357.



lish as Irish, who had been there in rebellion against him, to his grace and peace, to grant them pardons in special, not general, under the great seal of Ireland, and put them to fines and ransoms for all manner of offences and trespasses there committed by them, (treason only excepted).'' And being convinced, that nothing would more effectually promote the peace of the land, than the spiritual instruction of the people, which was then much neglected by reason of the non-residence of their pastors, the King authorised and licensed the archbishop of Dublin to constitute perpetual vicars in all benefices and prebendaries belonging to his archbishopric, with certain proportions of great or small tithes, and other profits, who were perpetually to reside upon them.

Proclamation against promotion of Irish clerks within the pale.

Edward had published a proclamation in Ireland, in the thirty-fourth year of his reign, that no Irishman should be made a mayor, bailiff, or other officer, in any city or borough, or be promoted to any ecclesiastical benefice in Ireland within the English pale, to prevent their confederacies with, and giving intelligence to the Irish rebels. In the thirty-fifth year of his reign, on a petition presented in his English parliament by some Irish clerks, who had remained loyal to him, he made a full explanation of that proclamation, in a special writ to his chief justice and chancellor of Ireland, declaring, that it affected mere Irish clerks only.

Absentees summoned to council

In the same year the King summoned all noblemen, courtesses, abbots, priors, clergymen, and others in

England, who had lands in Ireland, to appear in person, or by their proxies before him and his council, to advise with them concerning the defence of Ireland. Thither they were ordered to repair in person, or by their substitutes, with all the forces they could raise, to assist his son Lionel, whom he designed to send thither as his deputy-general, under the penalties mentioned in the several writs, which, on the same day he issued to his officers in Ireland, prohibiting the private or public exportation of corn or victuals out of Ireland under pain of forfeiture, and other penalties: that the forces he intended to send thither, might be the better victualled and provided for on their arrival.

1361.
to advise
upon the
safety of
Ireland.

In the next year he issued writs to confiscate all lands or tenements purchased in Ireland by any of his officers, without his special license, which was contrary to an ordinance of his late father: and he, at the same time, issued a proclamation, that all, who had lands in Ireland should repair thither with all the forces they could raise, to his son Lionel lord lieutenant, in order to preserve and defend them against the Irish rebels, or they should be confiscated and conferred upon others.

Forfeiture
of lands
purchased
by King's
officers
without li-
cense.

Whilst the Duke of Clarence was lord lieutenant, the famous statute of Kilkenny was passed, which Sir J. Davies * observes, was made only for the degenerate English, and did not extend to the Irish; admitting, that no provision was made thereby for the mere Irish.

Statute of
Kilkenny.

* *Dev. Disc.* p. 125.

1302.

The substance of that singular statute is offered as a specimen of the ferocious arrogance, with which the English then treated the Irish. It was enacted, that intermarriages with the natives, or any connection with them as fosterers, or in the way of gossipred, should be punished as high treason; that the use of their name, language, apparel, or customs, should be punished with the forfeiture of lands and tenements; that to submit to be governed by the Brehon laws was treason; that the English should not make war upon the natives without the permission and authority of government; that the English should not permit the Irish to graze upon their lands; that they should not admit them to any benefice or religious privilege, or even entertain their bards; that to compel English subjects to pay or maintain soldiers was felony, (this respected the oppressive imposition of coigne and livery); that traitors and felons should not be protected by flying to sanctuaries, which, by affording an asylum to criminals, had been found very detrimental to the public tranquillity. It was likewise enacted, that wardens should be appointed to estimate the men and armour, which each of the King's vassals was obliged to provide for military service.

The King
issues fresh
ordinances.

As the Irish rebels continued to carry war and devastation through the land, notwithstanding all former ordinances and writs for its defence, the King, in the forty-second year of his reign, issued fresh ordinances to his chief officers in Ireland, commanding them to summon a parliament, and communicate the ordinances to them, to supply any defects, that should

appear therein, which were to be certified to him, together with the quantity and real value of the lands, which residents in England held in Ireland, and the number of men they ought to array for her defence. 1369.

In the forty-sixth year of this reign the barons of the Exchequer in Ireland issued a process to levy escuage from the King's subjects, as well for the lands, which the Irish rebels had seized and taken from them, as for those, which they held; whereupon the King, at the petition of the parties aggrieved, issued a writ for their relief. He also issued another singular writ, upon the complaint of his Irish subjects, to inquire into and rectify some new and perpetual customs and imposts, fraudulently pretended to have been granted and imposed by an Irish parliament, upon sundry mercantile commodities, by the King's lieutenant, Sir William Windsor, who, with a very considerable minority against the negative votes of the majority, had procured such grant to be entered as passed by the majority.

Writs to remedy the injustice of the barons and lords lieutenants.

Edward, to the very close of his reign, uniformly manifested his anxiety to do justice to his Irish subjects. In the fiftieth year of his reign the commonalty of the several counties, cities, and boroughs in Ireland elected certain persons to repair to the King's council as informers or commissioners, to treat with them about the affairs of Ireland; on whose behalf the King issued new writs to his chief justice and chancellor there, to levy the reasonable expenses of their journey to England, of their stay there, and return thence to their homes. In the true spirit of redress

1376.

and conciliation, he gave to the chief governor, the Earl of Ormond, very special powers to receive all rebels, as well Irish as English, into the King's faith and peace, to grant them pardons general and special, to receive fines and ransoms from them for all crimes and offences; and to replace corrupt or insufficient officers with able and honest men according to the advice of his council there: and by another patent of the same date he declared, that this power should not extend to any felonies, treasons, forfeitures of prelates or earls in Ireland, or any capital or other offences committed by them, the judgment and pardon of which he reserved to himself.

CHAPTER VIII.

The Reign of Richard II.

IN the reign of Richard II. few circumstances occurred material to the state of Ireland. The unequivocal proof of the mal-administration of that country is more visibly discovered in this, than in any former reign by the rapid succession of deputies, who were kept in perpetual motion to and from the seat of that ill-fated government. Barring the two periods, during which Richard ruled the country in person, there appear twenty-five distinct changes within the space of twenty-two years, two months, and eight days. Making reasonable allowances for the uncertainty of weather, the slowness of travelling, and the general difficulties of communication in those days, the averaged interval between each appointment and recall would scarcely cover the term of nine calendar months*. The beginning of this King's reign, who was but eleven years of age when he ascended the

1377.

Rapid and
mischiev-
ous succe-
sion of go-
vernors.

* Dav. Dis. In the intermediate time, namely, in the year 1382, Philip de Courtenay, a cousin of the king, was appointed lord lieutenant of Ireland, by patent, for the term of ten years; but in less than two was superseded, arrested for oppression and extortion, and his effects were seized to answer for the losses of the persons aggrieved.

1377.



First sketch
of Richard's
reign.

throne, was conducted by the regency under the influence of his uncle the Duke of Lancaster.

Sir John Davies gives the following concise view of the beginning of this monarch's reign *. "In the beginning of this reign, the state of England began to think of the recovery of Ireland. For then was the first statute made against absentees †, commanding all such as had land in Ireland to return and reside thereupon, on pain of forfeiting two third parts of the profit thereof. The King committed the government of Ireland first to the Earl of Oxford, his chief favourite, whom he created Marquis of Dublin, and Duke of Ireland; next, to the Duke of Surrey, his half brother; and lastly to Lord Mortimer, Earl of March and Ulster, his cousin and heir apparent." In the fifth year of his reign, a writ was issued to the deputy in Ireland to summon a parliament for the good government of the realm, and to provide for the King's expenses in the war.

The dominion, which the English monarch at this time exercised over the Irish, appears to have been arbitrary and unconstitutional. In the ninth of Richard II. a most extraordinary grant was made (and with the consent of parliament) to the favourite Robert de Vere, Earl of Oxford, afterwards Duke of Ireland; by which he was intrusted with the absolute and entire regal dominion of the realm during his life, without making any payment for or rendering any account of it: he had power to pass all writs under his

* Dav. Disc. † 3 Ric. II. Arch. Tur. Lond. Rot. Parl. p. 42.

own test ; to place and displace all officers, even the chancellor, treasurer, and admiral ; and to name his own deputy, and ministers. He received a second patent in the same year, by which he was invested with the full dominion of all the land and islands belonging to Ireland, together with all royalties, that ever had been holden and enjoyed by any of the King's predecessors. Of this grant Sir Edward Coke said *, " By the law the King by his letters patent could not grant so royal a member of his imperial style to any, no more than he could do his kingdom of England."

1396.

Although the English interest in Ireland from various causes yearly ran into decline, the expense and pomp, with which Richard went over in person to complete the subjection of that country, appear to have been occasioned not by state necessity, but by the romantic vanity of the monarch to retrieve his honor, which he conceived had been touched by the sarcastic reflections of some of the German princes, who had declined supporting his pretensions to be elected emperor : viz. that he was unfit to command the empire, who was neither able to hold what his ancestors had gained in France, nor to rule his insolent subjects in England, nor master his refractory people of Ireland. Richard's force sufficed to have reduced the whole island. Satisfied however with a slight submission,

Reasons of
the English
interest de-
clining in
Ireland.

* 4 Inst. p. 357. He says also of this grant, " Sed novus iste insolitus et umbratilis honor citò vanuit ; and this also did first begin and end in him."

1394.

he specially authorised Thomas Mowbray, the Earl of Nottingham and marshal of England, to receive the homages and oaths of fidelity of all the Irish in Leinster. They were bounden by several indentures under great penalties to remain loyal, and by a certain day to give up to the King and his successors all their lands and possessions in Leinster, and to serve him in his wars against his other rebels. These indentures and submissions were solemnly enrolled and testified by a notary public, and the enrolments delivered by the King himself to the bishop of Salisbury, then lord treasurer of England.

The Irish
throw off
their sub-
mission.

The young King, satisfied with these external acts of submission, broke up his army, and returned to England with much honor, and little profit. He had spent a mass of treasure in transporting the army, which commanded these submissions, but had not increased his revenue by one pound, nor the English territory by one acre. The jurisdiction of his courts of justice remained confined to the English colonies, and the Irish lords scorning the forces, which were left behind, began to infest the borders, in defence of which Lord Roger Mortimer, the King's lieutenant, and heir apparent of the crown of England, was slain. To avenge his death, the King again appeared at the head of a powerful army, firmly resolved upon the full conquest of the island. He suffered much from marching his army through a desolated country without provisions. Internal commotions in England obliged him to leave Ireland; and he had scarcely landed

in Wales, when he was taken and delivered into the hands of his rival, the Duke of Lancaster. His inglorious reign was terminated in the 33d year of his age, by a resignation of the crown, and a parliamentary deposition. 1399.

CHAPTER IX.

The Reign of Henry IV.

1399.

Turbulent
reign of
Hen. IV.
not benefi-
cial to Ire-
land.

LITTLE was it to be expected, that Henry IV. sur-
named Bullingbroke from the place of his nativity in
Lincolnshire, should enjoy a reign of serenity, when
he had worked his way to the throne, by procuring
or countenancing the deposition and murder of the
King, and the exclusion of the right heir from the
crown he himself was wearing. His personal ac-
complishments had acquired him, whilst Duke of
Lancaster, the estimation and interests of a large party
in the nation, by means of which he had the address,
notwithstanding his want of title, to engage Arundell,
archbishop of Canterbury, to place the crown upon his
head. In his accession were sown the seeds of those
disastrous feuds of the houses of York and Lancaster,
which afterwards spread their baneful consequences
even to Ireland. This King was however too con-
stantly engaged in domestic troubles and insurrec-
tions, even to attempt any measures beneficial or im-
portant to that country.

Insignifi-
cance of
Ireland to
the English
monarch.

Ireland at this time appeared of such insignificance to
the monarch, that the English parliament in the first
year of his reign, granted him * a subsidy for three years,

* Cot. Rec. 1, H. IV. p. 390.



and one disme and one fifteenth towards the provision for Ireland, amongst other objects of state necessity. So ill were the affairs of this country administered, that in less than two years four chief governors were successively appointed, who seemed to vie with each other in their address to increase the discontents and turbulency of the kingdom. The archbishops of Armagh and Dublin were deputed by the Irish parliament, to lay before the King the national grievances. They were graciously received, and probably occasioned the extraordinary appointment of the King's son, Thomas Duke of Lancaster to the government for twenty-one years. 1401.

The arrival of his royal highness in Ireland for the time gave weight to the English government. Some of the native chieftains were subdued: some few made or repeated their external submission to the lord lieutenant. Ulster was for a time freed from the Scotch marauders, who, from the commencement of this reign had harassed that province in separate detachments. In this year (3 H. IV.) a parliament was holden at Dublin, and an ordinance issued for enforcing the statute against Irish absentees, soon after which the Duke of Lancaster returned to England on account of the troubles raised against his father, "so that," according to Sir J. Davies, "the seed of reformation took no root at all." Duke of Lancaster made lord lieutenant for twenty-one years.

In the fifth of this King's reign, under the Earl of Ormond, chief justice, another parliament was convened at Dublin, wherein the statutes of Kilkenny, and of Dublin, and the charter of Ireland were confirmed. Several parliaments in Ireland.

1404. Several other parliaments were assembled in this reign, at some of which tallages were granted, and many wholesome ordinances enacted, though they were not observed. The King's wishes appear to have exceeded his power to improve the internal state of the country. During his reign, which only lasted thirteen years, his son the Duke of Lancaster was twice more appointed lord lieutenant for twelve, and for seven years. It appears from the Irish annals, that the holding of parliament was offensive to the native Irish; for it is particularly remarked, that during a parliament convened in the 14th of Hen. IV. "the Irish fell to burning in divers places, as they had often done in parliament times; wherefore a tallage was demanded, but not granted."

Singular power to the Duke of Lancaster to send over two families out of each parish.

The terms, on which the Duke of Lancaster accepted his third and last appointment were singular. Besides the provision made for his attendants, and their pay, he was allowed at the King's charge, to transport a family or two out of every parish in England, to inhabit Ireland. Had this provision been acted upon, an influx of above 20,000 indigent individuals might have been thrown upon a distressed country, which, from the long continuance of war and famine, was little able to support its own population. This appears to have been the first idea of plantations in Ireland, afterwards so fatally mischievous to that country. He was also enabled to grant benefices, and appoint his own deputy. It was further provided that all the demesnes of the crown should be resumed, and the acts of absentees executed. Some

historians relate, that the Duke of Lancaster was ^{1413.} wounded under the walls of Dublin; but they all agree, that he returned to England within three months after this last appointment. Nothing important to Ireland happened during the remainder of this reign. Sir J. Davies indeed has remarked, that “after this the state of England had no leisure to think of a general reformation in the realm, till the civil dissensions of England were appeased, and the peace of that kingdom settled by Henry VII.”

CHAPTER X.

The Reign of Henry V.

1413.

Heroic
commence-
ment of the
reign of
Henry V.

HENRY V. of Monmouth succeeded his father without opposition from any quarter. The nobility swore allegiance to him before his coronation. The settled doctrine of the hereditary right to the crown appears then to have been, that it devolved by operation of law upon the heir of the person, who died last seised. This young prince, then only in the 24th year of his age, had during his father's life, formed an intimacy with several young gentlemen of amiable accomplishments, though rather dissolute habits, who flattered and seduced him into some of the irregularities incidental to youth. One of the first acts, however, after his accession to the throne, was to forbid any one of his favourite companions, to approach within ten miles of his royal presence : so determined was he to act without partiality or favor for the welfare and prosperity of his people.

Henry
withdrawn
from Ire-
land by his
conquests
in France.

The mistaken policy of those days directed the energies of this young prince to the recovery and preservation of his continental possessions in France, which were crowned with the ever memorable victory of Agincourt, where ten thousand brave Englishmen, half famished, fatigued, reduced by disease, and surrounded, routed one hundred and forty thousand

Frenchmen in the vigor of health, superabounding with provisions, and commanding every advantage of situation. These dazzling objects diverted the mind of the young monarch from the ungracious task of modelling a nascent and refractory people. The utmost advantages he could look to from Ireland, were the auxiliary troops he might thence bring into the field to forward the progress of his arms in France. The Irish have ever been a martial people, conspicuously forward in engaging under any honorable banner, and supereminently distinguished for their prowess and fidelity to their engagements*. Whilst he was laying siege to Harfleur, in Normandy, he was gratified with the arrival of a reinforcement of sixteen hundred Irishmen, well armed and disciplined, under the command of the martial Prior of Kilmainham.

1415.



The incompetency of the English government at home, drove the corrupt deputies in Ireland to revive the abominable system of coigne and livery, which had been declared treasonable by the statutes of Kilkenny. The renovation of this oppression drove the natives, as well as several English chieftains into insurrection, which naturally increased the national calamities of devastation and bloodshed. In the relation, in which these two nations then stood to each other,

Causes of
fresh disasters
in Ire-
land.

* Happy for the British empire, were its government duly impressed with the incalculable advantages of availing itself of the unchecked energies and martial spirit of this important part of its population.

*O fortunatos nimium sua si bona norint
Anglicolæ.*

1416.

an intercourse and exchange of inhabitants frequently took place. The seat of empire, and its superior opulence and cultivation held out attractions to the Irish to flock to England in search of employment and promotion, whilst their own country, from the extinction of its monarchy and internal calamities, was daily dropping into indigence and insignificance. Ireland, on the other hand, as a new conquered country of great fertility and extent in proportion to its population, held out temptations to the adventurous and indigent families in England, to answer the specious promises and allurements of colonization and plantations.

Unaccountable
act of the
English
parliament.

The English parliament, in the fourth year of this reign, from jealousy and prejudice at the influx of Irishmen into this country, passed an act imposing penalties on Irish prelates for collating Irishmen to benefices in England, or bringing Irishmen to parliament, lest they should discover the counsels of England to rebels. This unjust act, which seems almost inoperative upon the face of it *, was extended so far beyond its letter and spirit, that occasion was taken from it to expel indiscriminately all the Irish, without distinction of quality or birth, not even excepting the students of the inns of court, who were thus excluded from England and from the study of the very laws, by which they were to be governed. Every measure was

* If Irish prelates had not the advowsons in them, they could not collate to livings in England; and if they had, why should they not use their legal rights, which could not vest in them, unless they were subjects of the King.

carried into execution, however extravagant, which suited the ministers on either side of the water, who appear to the attentive observer of Irish government almost uniformly from the invasion to have systematically had a thorough understanding with each other in the mal-administration of Irish affairs.

1416.

The misconduct of the chief governor raised so much irritation in Ireland, that it was found requisite to appoint a person commanding the affections of the natives, and possessing the confidence of the English government. For this purpose, the Earl of Ormond was created lord lieutenant, with the extraordinary powers of summoning councils, holding, adjourning, proroguing, and dissolving parliaments, pardoning treasons, murders, and felonies, and removing and appointing all officers of state, (except the chancellor and treasurer). Immediately after the glorious triumph of Agincourt, the Irish had prepared a strong remonstrance of their grievances to be transmitted to the King; but the chancellor, Sir Laurence Merbury, feeling himself implicated in the objects of the remonstrance, and acting in concert with those, who had created the necessity of it, refused to affix the great seal, without which he pretended it could not be submitted to his majesty. Thus for several years were continued the abuses of the Irish government with impunity, by the manœuvres of the very delinquents, who occasioned the grievances.

Misconduct of Irish ministers.

The first parliament holden under Ormond granted a subsidy of 1000 marks, and provided for the liquidation of all the debts of former governors; but

Irish remonstrance.

1420. these acts were accompanied with a full representation of grievances. Merbury being absent, the person deputed to the custody of the seal had either too much honesty, or too little power, to refuse to affix it to their petition. The archbishop of Dublin and Sir Christopher Preston, were instantly commissioned by the Irish parliament to present their remonstrance to the throne *. The petition sets forth the distresses of the King's subjects in Ireland, harassed by the perpetual incursions of the Irish enemy, and the injustice and extortion of the King's ministers. The King's personal appearance in Ireland is most earnestly intreated to save his people from destruction. The insolent opposition of Merbury to their first petition is complained of. Stanley and Furnival, two former governors, are accused of the most iniquitous practices ; and while honorable mention is made of the conduct of Crawly, archbishop of Dublin, and of their present governor, all the other governors and officers are represented as corrupt, rapacious, and oppressive, secreting and misapplying the revenue, defrauding the subject, and levying coigne and livery without mercy : the unreasonable exclusion of their students from the inns of court, the insufficiency and extortion of the officers of the Exchequer, the number of absentees, and other matters of grievance are strongly urged. It prays, that those, who hold of the king *in capite* may not be exposed to the hardship of repairing to

* This petition does not appear to have been much attended to by the English government, for no other effect than the removal of Merbury from the seals can be fairly traced to this cause.

England to do homage ; but that the chief governor be commissioned to receive it ; that their commerce may be defended, their coin regulated, their churches supplied with faithful pastors, without such delays as they had experienced from selfish and designing governors. But, above all things, it urgently intreats, that trusty commissioners be appointed to inspect the conduct of the King's officers in Ireland ; plainly declaring, that scenes of iniquity would be discovered utterly abhorrent from the equity of the throne, and absolutely intolerable to the subject.

The victorious and favourite Henry was cut off in the prime of life by a disorder (a fistula) which the surgeons of that age had not the skill to cure. He died resigned to the call of his Maker, with every appearance of having fervently prepared himself for the awful transit: He lamented the extreme youth of his infant son, who was then only nine months old ; and, in the spirit of the christian chivalry of that day, declared his intention, had God prolonged his life, to commence a crusade for rescuing the holy land out of the hands of the Saracens. He reigned nine years, four months, and eleven days.

1422.

Death of
Henry IV.

CHAPTER XI.

The Reign of Henry VI.

1423.
Infancy of
the monarch.

UPON the death of Henry V. no objections were raised to the title of his infant son Henry, who in the tenth month of his age was proclaimed King at Paris. During the minority of the young monarch, the regency of France was committed to his uncle the Duke of Bedford, and that of England to his uncle the Duke of Gloucester. The attention of the English government to the affairs of France in the early part of this reign, and the contest of the houses of York and Lancaster during the remainder of it, not only impeded the final conquest and reformation of Ireland, but greatly increased its disorders, and weakened the English interest within the pale. The native Irish, and some of the degenerate English broke the borders, and wasted the English settlements.

Earl of
Marche
Lord Lieutenant.


Those, who acted under the regency sought to afford redress more from the powers of parliament than of arms. In order to give credit and effect to the English interest in Ireland, Edmund the Earl of Marche and Ulster, closely allied to the royal blood, was appointed lieutenant. He at first disdained to administer the Irish government in person, and deputed, under his private seal, the bishop of Meath to govern in his absence. The legality of this commission was protested against by the archbishop of Dublin, then

chancellor of the realm, who refused to administer the oaths, or receive him as governor. The nomination, however, was warmly supported by some of the English of the first consequence. Such in those days was the general disposition to crimination on each side, that persons were not wanting to indite the bishop of Meath (a prelate of exemplary conduct) for sacrilegiously stealing a chalice. The malicious prosecution ended however in the confession of one of the accomplices, who from remorse acknowledged his guilt, and discovered the real perpetrators.

1423.
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The coast of Ulster afforded perpetual opportunities to the contiguous adventurers from Scotland to pour into Ireland, where they were retained by the Irish chieftains, and assisted in ravaging the English settlements. The deputy acknowledged his own inability to repel these northern marauders; and the parliament enabled him to purchase the assistance of De Burgos with his followers, as well as that of the citizens of Dublin by particular bounties. The Earl of Marche and Ulster soon thought it necessary to repair to Ireland, to rescue his inheritance; but his sudden death at Trim inflamed the public mind, and increased the disorders of the state. Talbot, Lord Furnival, succeeded him as lord justice; and in the same year the Earl of Ormond was constituted lord deputy for the third time. During the administrations of these noblemen, several of the Irish submitted to the English claims, and acknowledged themselves vassals to the King of England, with promises to keep his peace, and assist him against his

Death of  
the Earl of  
Marche,  
and Scotch  
invaders.

1425.  enemies and rebels. They renounced all right and title to the lands of English settlers, which they had seized, and atoned for their offences by fine; utterly relinquishing the tribute sometimes received from the English settlements, as the price of their protection, and known by the name of the Black Rent; and promising even to take arms against those, who should attempt to exact that imposition. The administration of this earl was followed by a considerable interval of general tranquillity, without any other occurrence worthy of being recorded, than a rapid succession of governors, known by little more than their names, who sometimes appointed their own deputies and returned to England.

**Causes of  
increasing  
disasters.**

So violent however was the restless spirit of the English and Irish chieftains, that no public considerations could long withhold them from feuds and wars with each other. This national misfortune was aggravated by the erection of English sovereignties. According to Sir John Davies, "the power to make warre and peace did raise the English lordes to that height of pride and ambition, as that they could not endure each other, but grew to a mortal warre and dissention amongst themselves, as appeareth by all the records and stories of this kingdom \*." Not only the general state policy of England was misdirected and abused by the servants of the crown in Ireland, which increased and perpetuated disunion and hatred between the two nations, but the very sources of justice

\* *Dav. Diss.*

and legislation were perverted to the like effect. The same author \* says, that “ the Irish generally were held and reputed aliens or rather enemies to the crowne of England ; insomuch as they were not only disabled to bring anie actions, but they were so farre out of the protection of the lawe, that it was often adjudged no felony to kill a mere Irishman in the time of peace.”

1425.

By the fourth chapter of the statutes made at Trim, 25 Henry VI. it was enacted, that if any were found with their upper lips unshaven by the space of a fortnight (it was the Irish fashion to wear the beard on the upper lip), it should be lawful for any man to take them and their goods as Irish enemies, and to ransom them as Irish enemies. Another very singular statute was passed, to commit the punishment of offenders to every private liege man of the King, without reference to trial by judge or jury †.

Oppressive laws against the Irish.

Ormond was frequently in this reign placed at the

Ormond accused of infidelity to government.

\* Dav. Disc.

† 28 Hen. VI. c. iii. This inhuman encouragement to murder was further increased by large rewards given to those, who should execute summary justice from their own fallible or corrupt judgments upon persons going to rob and steal, or coming from robbing and stealing ; for, by 50 Edw. IV. c. 2 (A. D. 1465), it was enacted, “ that it should be lawful to all manner of men, that found any thieves robbing by day or by night, or going or coming to rob or steal, in or out, going or coming, having no faithful man of good name and fame in their company in English apparel, upon any of the liege people of the King, to take and kill those, and to cut off their heads, without any impeachment of our sovereign lord the King, his heirs, officers, or ministers, or of any others.”

1443.

head of the Irish government. When there for the fifth time, he was compelled to march with all the armed force he could collect against Desmond, with whom he found it necessary to treat, as with an independent sovereign. Ormond lost his popularity, was heavily charged, and summoned to appear before the King. He was succeeded by the Earl of Shrewsbury and Waterford, who by his address and resolution, prevented the disorders of this distracted kingdom from increasing, though he could not altogether suppress them. The party hostile to Ormond, though very powerful, failed in criminating him in the eyes of his sovereign, although they charged him with high treason \*. The special protection of Henry appears to have laid the foundation of that marked attachment, which the Butler family ever after showed to the house of Lancaster. Edmund Earl of Marche, who from motives of policy was appointed the first chief governor of Ireland in this reign, was descended in the female line from Lionel Duke of Clarence, elder brother to the prince, from whom the house of Lancaster derived all they claimed. In order to keep him in the back ground of English politics, it was deemed necessary to send him over to Ireland. By his sudden death, the rights of his family devolved on his brother Richard, a man every way qualified for prac-

\* Richard Talbot, Archbishop of Dublin, brother to the Earl of Shrewsbury, who in the former reign was once, and in the present reign six several times invested with the chief government of Ireland, wrote a tract *De abusû regiminis Jacobi Comitûs Ormondie dum Hiberniæ esset locum tenens*.

tising on the passions of men, and disposing them to support the pretensions he now set up to the crown. 1449.

Henry the Sixth was married to Margaret of Anjou, whom an unusual strength of mind peculiarly fitted to the boldness of enterprise necessary for those turbulent times. She justly conceived it a necessary precaution to remove the Duke of York to a distance from the scene of political intrigue. She procured petitions to be sent to the English parliament, representing the hostile dispositions of the Irish in terms so aggravated, as to demand the immediate presence of an able and respectable lieutenant; and she instructed her partisans to urge the necessity of appointing the Duke of York to this important station: justly concluding, that a prince of the blood, allied to the house of De Burgo, invested with the earldom of Ulster, the lordships of Connaught, Clare, Trim, and Meath, and the inheritor of a vast estate in Ireland, would mainly strengthen the King's party in that country. He accepted of his government for ten years, upon the express condition of receiving the whole revenue of Ireland without account, with an immediate advance of 2000 marks, and an annual pension of 2000 more from England, of being empowered to let the King's lands, of disposing of all offices, of levying such forces as he should judge necessary, of naming his deputy, and of returning at his pleasure. In the seat of government he was splendid and magnificent. The officers of state surrounded him with expressions of extraordinary zeal and devotion; and numbers of dependents from his own lands, (especially of Meath,

Political intrigues of Henry and of Margaret of Anjou.

1449.

where his patrimonial rights had best been preserved) crowded to a court, where every one was received with a conciliating address and condescension. He entertained every party with equal kindness. His obliging deportment engaged the affections of all. With the dignity of a prince of the blood royal, he united an ease and cordiality peculiarly congenial with the temper of the Irish. He had the policy to show equal favor to the two ruling parties, the Butlers and the Geraldines; for when his son, George Duke of Clarence, was born in the castle of Dublin, he made the Earl of Kildare, and the Earl of Ormond his sponsors; and when he went over into England, he left the sword alternately with each\*.

Good laws  
during  
York's ad-  
ministra-  
tion.

During York's administration, many wholesome laws were passed, for the more effectual and impartial administration of justice, and to prevent grievances in the proceedings of law. To strengthen the government of the duke, an act of resumption was passed of lands and offices; and to enable him to resist the enemy, without loading the subject with heavy subsidies, he was empowered to proclaim the royal service, and demand the attendance of all the King's subjects, notwithstanding a late statute had forbidden such proclamation to be made within ten years. An address of thanks was voted to the King, for the pro-

\* When he lost his life at Wakefield, many were slain with him of both those families. Yet afterwards these noble houses severally followed the royal houses of England: the Geraldines adhering to that of York, and the Butlers to that of Lancaster.—  
Dav. Disc. 91.

tection of the earl of Ormond from the malicious accusations of his enemies.

1450.

The Duke of York administered his government in Ireland, with the direct view of improving every incident to the purposes of his party, so that at court it was openly alleged, he was forming designs against the King, and intended to lead an Irish army into England to seize the crown. Letters were therefore dispatched to the sheriffs of Cheshire, Shropshire, and Wales, directing them to oppose his landing. The duke however eluded their vigilance, and soon appeared in London, having left the administration of the Irish government to the Earl of Ormond as his deputy, though a noted partisan of the house of Lancaster. An apparent reconciliation took place between the King and Duke of York; soon after which the duke retired to Wales. He seems to have retained his Irish government; for in a patent of the 31st of Henry VI. the King styles Fitz Eustace deputy of our dearly beloved cousin Richard Duke of York, lord lieutenant of our land of Ireland. Whilst Fitz Eustace acted as governor, in a parliament at Dublin all the statutes enacted in England against suing provisions at Rome were made of force in Ireland, and two other statutes passed to prevent coroners from harassing and detaining jurors, who, on inquisition for murder return, that they know not the perpetrator, and to prevent appeals to England except in cases of treason.

York suspected of using his power in Ireland against the crown of England.

The affairs of England became desperately embroiled from the total loss of the French domi-

York declared protector of the realm.



1455.

nions, and the birth of a prince, which irritated the Yorkists into open action. Duke Richard quitted Wales, and under pretence of the King's indisposition, was by the parliament appointed protector and lieutenant of the realm. This soon created an open rupture, and both parties flew to arms. The victory of St. Alban's gave the duke possession of the King's person and the whole authority of the crown, which he determined to strengthen by his interest in Ireland; he removed Fitz Eustace, and confided the reins of government to the Earl of Kildare, a devoted assertor of his cause, and a sworn rival of Ormond.

York's influence in Ireland.

The spirit of Margaret reanimated the Lancastrians, and the contest was renewed. At Blore Heath Duke Richard was betrayed and defeated, and sought shelter in Ireland. He was there received with the deference due to a chief governor, and all the warmth of affection, which his former conduct had excited. According to the fashion of those days of turbulent vicissitude, his adherents were proclaimed rebels and traitors; and the duke was formally attainted by a parliament of the successful party at Coventry. The Irish declared almost unanimously in favor of their favorite governor, and resolved to support his cause with their lives. Writs were sent over to seize, and bring some of the leading Yorkists to justice; but the King's authority proved of little weight against the influence of the popular viceroy. He not only prevented the execution of these writs, but prevailed upon an Irish parliament to enact a law, declaring it high treason for any person, under pretence of any writs, privy seals,

or other authority, to attach or disturb the persons of strangers in Ireland, under which law an agent of the Earl of Ormond, sent into Ireland to attach some of the Yorkists by virtue of the King's writs, was instantly seized, condemned, and executed as a traitor. 1459.

The temper of the English party in Ireland, and the policy of the Duke of York will appear more fully by an abstract of some laws passed in the Irish parliament immediately after his return. That parliament assumed the power of confirming the patent made to the duke, constituting him lieutenant of Ireland; and enacted, that if any person should imagine, compass, or excite his destruction or death, and for this purpose confederate with the Irish, or any other persons, he should be attainted of high treason. It declared, that Ireland was, and always had been incorporated within itself by ancient laws and customs, and was only to be governed by such laws, as by the Lords and Commons of the land in parliament assembled, had been advised, accepted, affirmed, and proclaimed; that, by custom, privilege, and franchise, there had ever been a royal seal peculiar to Ireland, to which alone the subjects were to pay obedience: that this realm had also its constable and marshal, before whom all appeals were finally determinable; yet as orders had been of late issued under another seal, and the subjects summoned into England to prosecute their suits before a foreign jurisdiction, to the great grievance of the people, and in violation of the rights and franchises of the land, it enacted, that for the fu-

Acts of the Yorkists in Ireland in favor of it's national independence.

1460.



ture no persons should be obliged by any commandment under any other seal but that of Ireland to answer any appeal, or any other matter, out of the said land; and that no officer, to whom such commandment might come, should put the same in execution, under the penalty of forfeiture of goods and chattels, and 1000 marks, half to be paid to the King, and the other to the prosecutor; and further, that all appeals of treason in Ireland should be determinable before the constable and marshal of Ireland, and in no other place. And finally, that if any person should appeal to any other person, within the land of Ireland, and the matter should be found false, the prosecutor should suffer death: and that no pardon in the case should avail him.

Duke of  
York comes  
over from  
Ireland to  
England,  
and falls in  
battle.

After the victory obtained by the Yorkists at Northampton, the Duke of York came over from Ireland, attended by great numbers of partisans, at the head of whom he arrived in London, where he was declared successor to Henry, in a parliament surrounded and intimidated by his forces. Margaret raised a powerful army in the north to oppose him. He marched with five thousand men, mostly Irish, to meet them; was attacked at Wakefield by twenty thousand, and in this unequal contest, fell with a great part of his army on the field of action.

The con-  
tests in  
England  
weaken  
its inter-  
est in  
Ireland.

This defeat of the duke was nearly fatal to the English interest in Ireland. The native chieftains fell upon the deserted pale, and obliged every English settler there to submit to them, as to their sovereign lords. The English, thus reduced, were constrained


to purchase their peace on any terms. In this enfeebled state, parliament was summoned at the interval of a few months, and subsidies wantonly imposed without necessity, and beyond the abilities of the people to bear. To remedy this grievance, a law passed for eight years, forbidding the holding of more than one parliament in the year. The unfortunate contests of the two Roses in England served but to foment disunion and feuds between the dwindled and reduced lords of the pale in Ireland, and to feed the insolent turbulence of the native chieftains. The unfortunate reign of Henry VI. ended twelve years before his death; for he departed out of this life on the 21st of May, 1472. Amongst the articles exhibited against this monarch, one was, that, "by the instigation of divers lords about him, he had written letters to some of the Irish enemy, whereby they were encouraged to attempt the conquest of the said land of Ireland."

1460.



## CHAPTER XII.

### *The Reign of Edward IV.*

1461.  THE fourth day of March, in the year 1461, was the commencement of the reign of Edward IV. who then was in the 20th year of his age. His personal comeliness and graceful address endeared him to the multitude. Though entitled by hereditary right, he acquired possession of the crown, by the tumultuary election or acclamation of his party. What he procured in turbulence, he preserved in severity. The unfortunate kingdom beheld during his reign the scaffold and the field stream with the noblest blood of the land, immolated alternately to the vengeance of the prevailing party.

Bloody  
reign of  
Edward IV.

After the fatal action at Wakefield, the King's council, in exercise of their ancient right, elected as governor, Thomas Earl of Kildare, until the royal pleasure should be known: he was afterwards confirmed by patent from the new King; and the acts of his administration exercised in the name of Henry VI. were ratified by the Irish parliament. He was speedily superseded by the appointment of George Duke of Clarence, the brother of Edward IV. to the lieutenancy for life.

Duke of  
Clarence,  
the King's  
brother,  
made lord  
lieutenant  
for life.

The Earl of Ormond, one of the most zealous supporters of the house of Lancaster, was attainted and executed upon a scaffold. The Irish parliament,

Death of  
the Earl of  
Ormond.

in unison with that of England, passed an act for the attainder of several noblemen, and others of the family of Butler for adhering to the King's enemies. But Sir John Butler, brother of the late Earl, raised a large force from amongst his dependents, and bade defiance to the King's deputy. He was opposed by Desmond at the head of 20,000 men, and completely routed.

1462.

Thus ended the only effort made in Ireland, to oppose the Yorkists. Desmond for his services was appointed lord deputy. The authority of government, united to his personal consequence, inflated this inexperienced young nobleman to such a degree, that he soon fell a victim to his vanity and imbecility. He was defeated and taken prisoner by O'Connor of Offaly, who generously released him. He involved himself in a quarrel with the bishop of Meath, and was accused by the enemies of the Geraldines, who were very powerful in Ireland, as an oppressor of the King's subjects, and violator of the laws. The bishop first sent his agents into England, to make such representations to the court of Edward; and after Desmond had convened a parliament of his own at Wexford, from which he procured honorable testimonials of his good conduct, he repaired to England, where he was graciously received by the King. He returned to his government, elated with this mark of royal favor, and became more open to the designs of his enemies.

Desmond falls into the snare of his enemies.

A parliament convened at Dublin enacted, that "whereas the liege people had been heretofore reduced to pay a tallage called *black rent* to the Irish

Act for payment of black rent, and punishing Irish

1463.

prelates for  
not ex-  
communi-  
cating dis-  
loyal sub-  
jects.

enemy and English rebels, such tallage should for the future be paid to the King's deputy, for the better sustentance of his army." This was a plan insidiously calculated to throw disgrace upon the treaties lately made by Desmond ; for any attempt to execute such an act would have been instantly productive of insurrection. Another statute of this parliament shows the iniquitous abuse of power, which the animosity of those days occasioned ; and how mischievously the spiritual power of the church was prostituted to the purposes of the state. In all the indentures of the Irish, executed on their submissions to the chief governor, there was an express provision, that in case of any violation of their compact, they would submit to the excommunication of the church. The Irish bishops situated at a distance from the seat of government, were not always ready or anxious to denounce this formidable sentence against their countrymen. A statute \* to the following purport was therefore passed. " Whereas our holy father Adrian pope of Rome was possessed of all the seignory of Ireland in right of his church, which for a certain rent he alienated to the King of England, and his heirs for ever ; by which grant the subjects of Ireland owe their obedience to the King of England as their sovereign lord ; it is therefore ordained, that all archbishops and bishops of Ireland, shall upon the monition of forty days, proceed to the excommunication of all disobedient subjects ; and if such archbishop or bishop be remiss in doing their

\* 7 Edw. IV. c. 9.

duties in the premises, they shall forfeit one hundred pounds." The lord deputy, Tiptoft Earl of Worcester and his party affected by a vigorous administration to support the interest of the crown, though they chiefly levelled their severity against Desmond and his friends. 1467.

The parliament was adjourned to Drogheda \*, where the Yorkists procured an act "for attainting of treason Thomas Earl of Desmond, Thomas Earl of Kildare, and Edward Plunkett, Esq. for alliance, fostering, and alterage with the King's Irish enemies, for furnishing them with horses, harness and arms, and supporting them against the King's subjects, declaring their goods and lands forfeited, and that whoever should not discover their goods to the Earl of Worcester, within fourteen days after the rising of parliament, should be attainted of felony." Kildare was imprisoned, but either escaped or was released. Desmond repaired to the chief governor to justify his conduct, but was instantly brought to the scaffold and beheaded. A rare example of a great man falling the victim to a code of severity, which had never been practised on the multitude. So prompt in those factious days was the vindictive animosity of party.

Some ineffectual attempts were made to revenge the death of this earl, by Gerrat, one of the surviving branches of the family of Desmond, for which he was attainted. The enemies of that house enjoyed but a short

Heads of the Geraldines attainted.

Feeble effort of Gerrat to revenge the death of Desmond.

\* Of several laws passed in this parliament, two only are printed, one of which expressly extends to Ireland the English statute against rapes, and all other statutes theretofore made in England.



1470  
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lived triumph. Kildare, who had escaped to England, easily obtained his pardon. The very parliament, which condemned him in obsequious submission to the royal mandate, reversed his attainder, and restored him to his estate and dignity. To complete his triumph, he was soon after constituted lord deputy in the room of Tiptoft, who was recalled to England, and suffered on the scaffold under a sentence similar to that, which he had executed upon Desmond. Thus was the Geraldine ascendancy once more established, and all the acts repealed, which had been passed to the prejudice of the Earl of Kildare. The goods belonging to the late deputy were moreover vested in their present governor, as a compensation for his imprisonment, and the other damages he had sustained.

Duke of
Clarence
lord lieutenant
for
twenty
years.

On the restoration of Henry VI. through the vigorous interposition of the Earl of Warwick, the Duke of Clarence had been created by a new patent lord lieutenant of Ireland for 20 years: but no change was made in the actual administration of the Irish government, by this short lived revolution *. Kildare continued in the station of lord deputy, but the English of Ireland were generally left to their own resources, which were so pitifully slender, that † the act for supplies provided for no more than an establishment of one hundred and sixty archers, and

* The whole business of parliament was to reverse attainders, in which was that of Ormond, to repeal all the acts of Edward IV. and to declare him an usurper. He and his adherents were attainted.

† 13 Edw. IV. c. 61.

sixty-four spearmen, of whom twenty-four were to form the particular retinue of Kildare's son Gerald. They were to be retained for three months in the counties of Dublin, Meath, Kildare, and Argial, and to be paid out of the revenue; and in aid of the appointment the officers were empowered to quarter their soldiers in all such places, as they should resort to for the public weal. This was in fact a renovation of the execrable system of coigne and livery, or free quarters, the sure forerunner and concomitant of bad times.

1473.

Kildare's next parliament provided a more permanent military establishment, which still however bespoke the exility of their means. They instituted a society of thirteen persons of the first consequence in the pale; namely, the Earl of Kildare, Lord Portlester, and Sir Rowland Eustace for the county of Kildare; Lord Howth the mayor of Dublin, and Sir Robert Dowdal for that of Dublin; Lord Gormanstown, Edward and Alexander Plunkett, and Barnaby Barnwall for the county of Meath; and the mayor of Drogheda, Sir Lawrence Taaff, and Richard Bellew for Argial. They were to assemble annually at Dublin, on St. George's day, to renew their pledges of zeal for the English government, and were stiled the Brotherhood of St. George. To their annual captain were assigned, as his train, one hundred and twenty archers on horseback, and forty other horsemen with one attendant to each. To support this armament, the fraternity was empowered to demand twelve pence in the pound upon all merchandize sold in Ireland, except hides, and the goods of the

Brother-
hood of St.
George.

1474. freemen of Dublin and Drogheda. They were also empowered to make by-laws for the regulation of their society, to elect new members on vacancies ; and their captain had particular authority to apprehend outlaws, rebels, and all who refused due obedience to law.

Restoration
of Ormond,
followed by
fresh dis-
sentions.

In the mean while John Earl of Ormond had the address to ingratiate himself with the King, who highly estimated his attractive accomplishments, and he was fully restored to his estate and dignity. This restoration of the family of Butler, accompanied by the dismissal of Kildare from the government, soon re-kindled the flame of discord throughout Ireland. Edward sent his commission to the archbishop of Armagh to act as umpire between the contending parties, and to determine their differences in the fullness of royal authority. The Geraldine party once more gained the ascendancy, and Gerald the young Earl of Kildare assumed the government ; yet he was opposed by other deputies appointed by the King, who increased the disasters of this unfortunate country, by keeping up opposite establishments, holding opposite parliaments (or conventions) at the same time, and passing contrariant laws (or ordinances).

Kildare in-
vested with
larger
powers.

The Earl of Kildare, on his second appointment to the government, received from the King special and full instructions to compose the disorders of the late short and tumultuous administrations. The controversy between the two co-existing parliaments, each claiming its own legality, was submitted to the decision

of the King. He pronounced in favor of neither, but directed certain acts made by both to be established or annulled in the ensuing parliament, and pointed out such provisions in each, as the interest of the crown or the welfare of the state required. Kildare, during the remainder of this reign is represented by the Irish annalists as taking too interested a part in the local quarrels of the old natives, who still continued to oppose each other by enforcing the usual provisions for the defence and security of the English settlements. Sir John Davies has in very few words given a strong etching of the state of Ireland at this tumultuous period *. “After his (Henry VI.) death, when the wars between the houses were in their heat, almost all the good English blood, which was left in Ireland, was spent in those civil dissensions: so as the Irish became victorious over all without blood or sweat. Only that little canton of land, called the English pale, containing four small shires, did maintain a bordering war with the Irish, and retain the form of English government. But out of that little precinct, there were no lords, knights, or burgesses summoned to the parliament; neither did the King’s writ run in any other part of the kingdom; and yet upon the marches and borders, which at that time were grown so large, as they took up half Dublin, half Meath, and a third part of Kildare and Lowth; there was no law in use, but the march law, which in the statutes of Kilkenny, is said to be no law, but a lewd custom.”

1480.

* *Dav. Disc.*

CHAPTER XIII.

The Reigns of Edward V. and Richard III.

1483.
Coronation
and murder
of Edward
V.

EDWARD IV. left two sons, Edward the Prince of Wales 12 years and 5 months old, and Richard Duke of York about nine years of age. Edward was immediately proclaimed King at Ludlow: but his short reign or rather interregnum of two months and twelve days, was terminated in the murder of these two brothers by their inhuman uncle, Richard the III^d. His detestable reign, which lasted but two years two months and four days, ended by his death at the battle of Bosworth Field; where Henry Tudor Earl of Richmond afterwards Henry VII. gained both the victory and the crown. This was the thirteenth and last battle fought between the houses of York and Lancaster. It put an end to those bloody contests, in which above a hundred thousand men and eighty princes of the blood lost their lives.


Detestable
reign, and
death of
Richard III.

Richard, who had waded to the throne through blood and treachery, was too busily engaged in maintaining the fruits of his usurpation at home, to be able to lend his mind to the preservation or improvement of Ireland. He continued Gerald Earl of Kildare in the government of that country, who first acted as deputy to Edward the King's son, then as deputy to De la Pole Earl of Lincoln. Some few insignifi-

cant statutes passed during this reign ; but no event occurred sufficiently memorable to be noticed affecting either the lords of the pale or the native dynasts. The fall of Richard at Bosworth happened on the 22d of August, 1485.

CHAPTER XIV.

The Reign of Henry VII.

1485.  HENRY VII. immediately after the battle of Bosworth was proclaimed King by acclamation on the field, when the Lord Stanley placed the crown of Richard on his head, in confirmation of that popular or military election. This was further ratified by a solemn coronation on the 30th of October following. Yet this politic prince, not satisfied with this title to the crown, though allied to the house of Lancaster, procured an act of parliament to supply all defects of legal title, and then married Elizabeth daughter of Edward IV. in whom, as heir to the house of York, the hereditary claim to the crown really existed. These accumulated rights probably induced Henry to affect a general system of reconciliation, and well knowing the strong prejudice of the Irish in favor of the house of York, and sensible of their susceptibility of any impression, that would countenance their native turbulence, he found it political at first not to irritate the prevailing faction by removing them too hastily from power.

All officers
of state
in Ireland
continued.

To the astonishment of both parties, the Earl of Kildare was continued lord deputy, his brother Thomas lord chancellor, and all the officers of state and the privy council remained without change or addition. This policy of the King served but to increase the in-

solence of the Yorkists. His coldness to the Queen and marked harshness to the opposite party in England, roused the sympathies of the Yorkists in Ireland, and that kingdom soon became pointed out as a place of political intrigue. The Earl of Kildare in particular was considered a person, from whom eminent danger might be apprehended. Henry was alarmed, and commanded the earl to repair to England, under pretence of consulting with him about the state of his Irish interests. But Kildare seeing the design, summoned the lords of the pale, and prevailed upon them to address the King to suspend his mandate, till the earl could convene a parliament to settle points of the highest state necessity. The King was or affected to be satisfied.

Amongst the various attempts to disturb the reigning monarch, the first was to impose upon the public a youth of a comely and princely appearance, by name Lambert Simnel, who had been selected and tutored for this purpose by Richard Simon a priest of Oxford, enthusiastically devoted to the interests of the house of York. A rumor was purposely set afloat, that Richard the younger son of Edward IV. was still alive, and Simnel was first prepared to assume the character of this prince. A new report however prevailing, that the Earl of Warwick the son of the late Duke of Clarence, who had been born in the castle of Dublin, had just escaped from the Tower, Simnel was instructed to personate this earl, who was nearer to his own age. But to avoid any

1485.

Lambert
Simnel.

1486.



Simnel's
arrival in
Dublin.

untoward accident, which might produce detection, the first scene of this adventure was laid in Ireland.

Simnel and his attendant arrived in Dublin, where the youth presented himself to the lord deputy, as the son of Clarence, and inveighing with great plausibility against the usurpation of the Earl of Richmond, demanded protection for a prince of the blood royal, and rightful heir to the crown of England. The deputy, who was probably not unprepared for this scene, spread abroad, that the Earl of Warwick was arrived at Dublin, without any further circumstance. The people of Dublin instantly declared in his favor; and their example was followed by all the nation except the citizens of Waterford, the prelates of Cashel, Tuam, Clogher, and Ossory, the family of Butler, and the baron of Hoath, who were unable to defend the interests of the reigning prince against the popular contagion. They dispatched however emissaries to inform the King of the commotions in Ireland. Kildare summoned his council, which admitted the evidence of Simnel's claim, who accordingly was treated as sovereign, and in a few days solemnly proclaimed King, by the name of Edward the Sixth.

Simnel
crowned.

Kildare immediately followed up this first step with a peremptory summons to the citizens of Waterford to proclaim the new King. They returned an indignant answer; and Kildare ordered the messenger to be hanged. The summon was repeated with menaces of exemplary vengeance, and answered by open defiance and avowed determination to support the refusal by force of arms. Henry took the alarm; and to defeat

the effects of this revolt of his Irish subjects, and to prevent their reaching England, found it necessary to satisfy the people of the imposition of Simnel, and that the Earl of Warwick was actually in his possession. He accordingly caused the young captive earl to be taken from the Tower, and publicly conveyed through the city of London, engaged in conversation with several noblemen of the suspected party, that they might not plead ignorance, and finally to be exhibited at St. Paul's in a solemn procession, amidst an unusual concourse of the people. These cautionary steps of the English monarch were not productive of their intent. The Yorkists were bent upon availing themselves of every advantage to contest the right of Henry to the throne. 1486.

Margaret of York, the dowager Duchess of Burgundy, was the second sister of Edward the Fourth, and at this time the relict of Charles Duke of Burgundy. She was a princess of bold intrigue, rich, and popular; she was indignant at the restoration of the Lancastrian line, and her court became the resort of all the fugitive malecontents of England. Francis Lord Lovel, late chamberlain to Richard the Third, and John Earl of Lincoln, son of John de la Pole Earl of Suffolk by Elizabeth, sister to Edward the Fourth, were her chief instigators and advisers. Sir Thomas Broughton, a zealous agent of the party in England, was the medium of a correspondence regularly carried on with the malecontents, who entered fully into the Irish adventure. Through the means and contrivance of the duchess, a body of 2000 veteran troops was sent from

Intrigues of the Duchess of Burgundy against Henry VII.

1487.

Flanders under the command of Schiwaatt, an experienced general, together with the Earl of Lincoln, Viscount Lovel, and others of that party; and in spite of Henry's precautions to guard the coast, they landed safely in Ireland.

Simnel
crowned
again with
great solemnity.

The arrival of this reinforcement inspired the partisans of the young adventurer with additional confidence. In the mean time they proceeded to a more solemn coronation of their favorite Simnel in the cathedral of Christ Church in Dublin, which was attended by the lord deputy, the officers of state, the English nobles, and all the adherents to the house of York.

Simnel's
parliament.

To give consistency to the design, the young crowned adventurer was made to summon his parliament, in which laws were enacted and subsidies granted; the utmost vengeance was denounced against those, who presumed to resist him, and particularly against the city of Waterford, the possessions and franchises of which were declared forfeited on account of their perverse opposition to the new government. Thomas Butler, one of the Ormond family, who had fled into England to inform Henry of these transactions, was attainted, and his possessions seized. William his brother was also treated as a rebel, and obliged to fly for safety into the neighbouring kingdom. The clergy voted a subsidy to the Pope to induce him to revoke the sentence of excommunication, which Henry had procured against his opposers. The whole administration of government, the proceedings at law, and execution of justice passed for

some time regularly in the name of Edward the Sixth. It was at first the policy of the party to draw Henry over to Ireland, in order to afford the malecontents in England an opportunity for a bold enterprise in his absence to restore the crown to the house of York. This however was abandoned, and the German corps under Schwaart, with some few thousands of the Irish, landed at Foudrey in Lancashire, and were joined by Sir Thomas Broughton and his troop.

1487.
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The Earl of Kildare was left in Dublin to attend the affairs of government. His brother Lord Thomas Fitzgerald resigned the great seal, and with Maurice, another brother, and the Earl of Lincoln, followed the adventurer. Henry with a much larger army engaged them near the village of Stoke in the county of Nottingham, and after a bloody contest of more than four hours, obtained a complete victory. The Earl of Lincoln, the Lords Thomas and Maurice Fitzgerald, Plunkett, the gallant Schwaart, Sir Thomas Broughton, and others of distinction fell in the action. Lord Lovel having never been heard of after, was supposed to have undergone the same fate. Above 4000 of the rebels fell on the field. Among the prisoners were Simnel, and Simon his tutor. Henry consigned Simnel to a menial situation in his kitchen to humble his adherents, and to preserve alive the wretched instrument of their factious enterprise. Simon the priest was cast into prison, and is supposed to have suffered there the punishment due to his offence.

Defeat of
the rebels
at Stoke.

1487.
Kildare and
others ob-
tain par-
don.

Whilst Henry was preparing measures of exemplary punishment against the heads of the rebellious party in Ireland, the Earl of Kildare and other lords dispatched emissaries to him to implore pardon, which through policy he granted. Kildare was assured, that the royal grace would depend upon his future loyalty, and was continued in the government. The citizens of Dublin, Drogheda, and Trim, the primate of Armagh, and some other offending clergy were also received into favor, and swore allegiance. Thus were the affairs of Ireland settled by general submission to the government of Henry, though the outrages of some of the natives had increased during the late commotions. Nor did this act of royal mercy wholly extinguish the jealousies and animosities of some of the rival lords. Desmond, O'Carrol, Mac Carthy, O'Nial, O'Donnel*, and others, made war and peace with each other, and sometimes against the deputy, as if they had been sovereign and independent princes.

Perkin
Warbeck.

The restless Duchess of Burgundy was not discouraged at the first failure ; she persevered in the most determined opposition to Henry. A youth of the name of Perkin Warbeck, the son of a Flemish Jew, was by fresh intrigues of the party selected to assume the character of Richard Plantagenet, supposed to have escaped from the Tower. He also was to be produced

* The laconic correspondence on this occasion between O'Nial and O'Donnel gives a fair representation of the Irish character at that time of day. *Send me tribute, or else—*, was the message of O'Nial. The answer of O'Donnel was, *I owe you none, and if—*

in Ireland; and in the mean time was kept under tuition in Portugal, till a fair occasion should present itself for introducing him on the scene of action. The design escaped not the vigilance of Henry. The Earl of Kildare was removed from the administration, and Walter, the Archbishop of Dublin, substituted in his room, as deputy to the Duke of Bedford. The Chief Justice Plunkett received the great seal; and Lord Portlester, who had enjoyed the office of treasurer for forty years, resigned in favor of Sir James Ormond, the natural son of the last earl. The disgrace of Kildare, and the return of the Butlers to favor threw these two noble families into open rupture, which proved very detrimental to the English interest in Ireland. The archbishop convened a parliament, which directed their whole power against Kildare and Portlester. This latter was declared to have embezzled the whole revenues of the kingdom for more than forty years, and compelled to pay all arrears into the Exchequer on pain of forfeiture and imprisonment. The conduct of Kildare during the insurrection was condemned with great severity. The citizens of Waterford, who (as that assembly expressed itself) had on false surmises been attainted by authority in the time of Gerald Earl of Kildare, in the reign of the present King, were restored to all their grants and privileges. The like favor was shown to those of the family of Butler, who had been attainted and driven from their possessions, during the administration of Kildare, and the whole was crowned by an act of resumption of all grants from the first year of Henry the Sixth.

1487.

1493.

Warbeck's
first appear-
ance in Ire-
land.

In this state of the Irish government Perkin Warbeck was dispatched into Ireland. He landed on the southern coast without troops or retinue, and appeared in the city of Cork in the character of Richard Plantagenet, who had escaped from the Tower, and was received and entertained by the chief magistrate with the honor due to that prince. Hence he sent letters to the earls of Kildare and Desmond, entreating their assistance for the recovery of his rights. Kildare received the application with some suspicion. Desmond instantly declared in favor of the new adventurer. But before his appearance in Ireland could produce any considerable effect, he was suddenly called into France by King Charles VIII. who deemed him a convenient instrument for forcing Henry to a peace.

Effects of
Warbeck's
short stay
in Ireland.

The short residence of Warbeck in Ireland served only to inflame the violence of faction, and to excite mistrust, jealousies, and intrigues in the different heads of parties. The Archbishop of Dublin was summoned to England to lay before the King a full detail of his Irish government. Preston, Lord Gormans-town, was appointed lord deputy in his room. Kildare repaired to the court of England to counteract the malice of his enemies, and boldly offered to justify his conduct. But Henry being prepossessed against him, referred the whole discussion to Sir Edward Poyning, the new deputy in Ireland, in whom he placed peculiar confidence, and whom he had invested with extraordinary powers, to hear all complaints and decide all contróversies, punish delinquency, reward merit, and put down all grounds of turbulence and

discontent among his Irish subjects. Sir Edward Poynings was attended to his government with a force of 1000 men. The Bishop of Bangor, an Englishman, was appointed chancellor, and Sir Hugh Conway treasurer; the former judges were removed, and English lawyers substituted in their places.

1494.
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Scarcely had Sir Edward Poynings assumed the office of vicegerent, when O'Hanlon, an Irish chieftain, who had proved remarkably turbulent during the late commotions, though opposed by the Earl of Kildare, obliged Poynings to march against him, attended both by Sir James de Ormond and the earl. This lord evinced the most zealous attachment to the English interests, in order to regain the royal favor; but his rivals worked so successfully upon Poynings, as to convince him, that Kildare had entered into a secret correspondence with the Irish enemy, assisted them clandestinely, and was actually engaged with O'Hanlon to massacre the King's deputy; in confirmation of which, intelligence was received, that Lord James, brother to Kildare, had seized the castle of Carlow in defiance of the royal authority. Kildare was directly charged with high treason, arrested, and confined; the deputy hastily concluded a treaty with the Irish insurgents, and laid siege to Carlow, which in a week surrendered upon articles.

Sir Edward
Poynings
chief gover-
nor.

The character of Henry VII. has been variously drawn by different historians. Bacon's portrait is too highly coloured. He neither appears to have been the Solomon, which his noble and learned biographer represents him, nor the weak, mean, avaricious, and

Henry the
Seventh's
policy to-
wards Ire-
land.

1494.

vindictive prince, as others have exhibited him. With fair allowances for the imperfect notions of civil government at that period, impartiality might allow merit to particular acts of state, the policy of which improved knowledge and experience would condemn. Certain it is, that in his conduct towards Ireland he acted almost in direct contradiction to the principles of all his predecessors. The system of governing this unsettled kingdom had unexceptionably been bottomed on a rapid succession of vindictive retaliations and punishments, hasty pardons of insincere and relapsing delinquents, unwarrantable forfeitures, improvident grants, and unjust resumptions.

Grounds for
appointing
Sir Edward
Poyninge.

Sir Edward Poyninge was chosen deputy in Ireland, as a person of congenial talent and disposition with the King, and of tried fidelity. It appears evident from the fair review of this monarch's reign, that by legislation he aimed at establishing an absolute dominion over the kingdom : and the nation having been saturated with blood both on the field and scaffold, sought shelter from the continuance of such scenes of horror even in the despotism of the monarch. He confirmed and increased the powers of the court of Star Chamber in England, and is allowed to have carried himself more above the prerogative than any of his predecessors. It must, however, be candidly allowed, that the wisdom, spirit, and effect of several laws passed in this reign, both in England and Ireland, have been judged of from subsequent events in a manner, totally repugnant to the feelings and probable intentions of the legislators, who passed them. Wit-

ness Lord Verulam's eulogy upon the Star Chamber.

1495.

The second counterfeit banner, round which the Yorkists rallied in Ireland, was put down by Sir E. Poynings' marching at the head of what the histories call an army; though, as Sir John Davies says, it "did not consist of 1000 men by the poll: and yet it brought terror with it, as all the adherents of Perkin Warbeck were scattered and retired for succour into the Irish countries: to the marches whereof, he marched with his weak forces, but eft-soones returned and held a parliament."

Warbeck's first attempt defeated.

At this parliament, which was holden at Drogheda in the 10th year of Henry VII. more statutes were passed, than at any preceding parliament in Ireland: and amongst others that famous act called Poynings' Law, which has been so much debated and so variously represented in the course of the last century. Twenty-three different statutes were enacted for the purposes of settling the validity of many former statutes and ordinances, which had been ordained by parliaments or conventions of contested jurisdiction, of securing the pale against the incursions of the Irish, of extending the English law throughout the whole of the island, and introducing several regulations for the internal management of that kingdom. To effectuate this, an act was passed, whereby all statutes made in England before that time were established and made of force in Ireland. And for keeping up in future a complete English ascendancy and controul in the English cabinet over the legislature of Ireland, it

Parliament of Drogheda, and Poynings' law.

195. was enacted *at the request of the Commons of the land of Ireland*, that no parliament should be there holden, "but at such season, as the King's lieutenant and council should first certify to the King under the great seal of that land, the causes and considerations and all such acts as them seemeth should pass in the same parliament, and such causes, considerations and acts affirmed by the King and his council to be good and expedient for that land, and his license thereupon, as well in affirmation of the said causes and acts, as to summon the said parliament under the great seal of England had and obtained *." No par-

* 10 Hen. VII. c. iv. From Mollyneux, who published his *Case of Ireland* in support of the legislative independence of his country in 1698, with the privity and approbation of Mr. Locke, all the Irish patriots throughout the whole of the last century uniformly decried Poyning's Law as a most unconstitutional national grievance. The union has rendered its observance impossible, whilst union lasts.

As this statute precluded any law from being proposed, but such as had been preconceived before the parliament was in being, which occasioned many inconveniences, and made frequent dissolutions necessary, it was provided by statute the 3d and 4th of Philip and Mary, chap. 4, that any new propositions might be certified to England in the usual forms, even after the summons and during the sessions of parliament. To remedy in some measure the inconvenience arising from these laws, the Irish lords and commons had adopted a mode of originating laws in their own houses. A lord or commoner applied to the house, of which he was a member, for leave to bring in the heads of a bill, which being granted by the majority of the house, the heads were proposed, received after regular discussion, alteration, and amendment, and having passed through all the forms of parliamentary order, paragraph by paragraph, and being perfected to

liament was thenceforth to be holden in Ireland, but under this badge of submission to the English cabinet. Thus in the most extended view of the Irish legislature, was their parliament confined to a mere negative

1495.
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the satisfaction of the house, where they had originated, they were sent to the Irish privy council, in order to be transmitted to the King in England. If these heads of bills were transmitted to England by the Irish privy council (which was not always the case), and were assented to by the King, they were then re-transmitted to Ireland, and if not negatived by either of the houses of parliament, they received a formal royal assent from the viceroy. These prelegislative proceedings were incessantly complained of by the people of Ireland, as blighting in the bud the most promising fruit. When the heads of a bill prepared by the Irish lords or commons dissatisfied the council, or displeased the viceroy, they were arrested in their course to the throne, and were in the technical language of the council, "put under the cushion," whence they never reached the ear of majesty. When the heads (or practically speaking the form or draught) of the bill came certified from the Irish council to the King it was immediately delivered to the attorney-general of England, to be perused, and settled by himself or the solicitor-general. It was in fact generally done by some conveyancing counsel, who had leisure to attend to it. In the year 1769 the inconveniency of this system was illustrated by a bill returned to Ireland altered in 74 places, which had been successively revised by the late Lord Thurlow, when attorney-general, Lord Rosslyn, when solicitor-general, and the late Mr. Macnamara, a chamber counsel. The bill so metamorphosed was rejected by the commons of Ireland. The temporary duties expired some weeks before a new bill could be perfected; and in the mean time the merchants imported duty free. The commissioners without any existing law levied the duties, seized the goods, and lodged them in the King's stores. The merchants with the *posse comitatus* broke open the stores, and the goods were conveyed away in triumph.

1495. voice against the direction or approbation of the English cabinet. This limitation of the Irish parliament to the *Veto*, has from the time of its passing been the constant theme of complaint from the Irish, and the occasion of too despotic a sway of the English government over the Irish parliament \*.

Kildare attainted.

Besides the twenty-three public acts, which were passed at this memorable parliament at Drogheda, several other acts were enacted, which have never been printed. Amongst them was an act † for attainting the Earl of Kildare and his brother James for high treason, for corresponding with O'Hanlon, and seizing the castle of Carlow, for extorting coigne and livery, and for treating with the King of Scotland ‡.

Kildare tried and acquitted.

Notwithstanding this parliamentary attainder, Kildare evaded the effects of it under singular circumstances. Historians have questioned the motive of Henry's conduct towards this deputy. He had certainly been imprudent, and at present was probably the victim of envy and resentment. Being summoned to England to answer his accusers, he was admitted to the presence of the King, who recommended him to provide himself with counsel. "Yes," replied the Earl with a frank familiarity, "the ablest in the realm," catch-

\* Of this legislative independence we shall hereafter have occasion to speak.

† Rot. Parl. c. 41. b. 6.

‡ It is also presumed, though I have discovered no author, who ascertains the fact, that the fraternity of St. George was put down by authority of this parliament; for from this time it is no more spoken of.

ing hold of his Majesty's hand, "your highness I take  
for my counsel against these false knaves." The King,  
instead of being offended at this liberty of Kildare,  
seemed pleased with the honest compliment paid to  
his integrity. In the course of the trial, it was urged  
against him by his enemies, that he had with sacrile-  
gious impiety, burned the church of Cashel. "Spare  
your evidence," cried Kildare, "I did burn the church,  
for I thought, that the archbishop had been in it."  
Towards the close of the trial, his accusers finding  
that they had not proved their principal charges, to  
the conviction of the King, told him in the bitterness  
of resentment, "That all Ireland could not govern  
this Earl." "Then," said the King, "this Earl shall  
govern all Ireland."

1495.

On the conclusion of the trial Henry convinced,  
that a man of such undesigning plainness and simpli-  
city, could not be guilty of any deep state delinquen-  
cy, received Kildare into favor, restored him to all  
his honors, and made him deputy of Ireland in the  
place of Sir Edward Poynings. This generous treat-  
ment was afterwards returned by the earl with cordial  
and suitable gratitude.

Kildare res-  
tored to the  
government

No evidence can be adduced from the historians of  
these times, whether the deception practised upon  
several persons of high consideration at this time were  
genuine, or whether in hatred to the party and person  
of Henry they gave into the delusion. James King of  
Scotland was either so involved in the scheme or so  
ensnared by the art of Warbeck, that he gave to him

Warbeck  
married to  
a relative of  
the King of  
Scotland,  
is at last  
hanged.

**1497.** in marriage a young lady of the first accomplishments, the Lady Catharine Gordon, a daughter of the Earl of Huntly, who was allied to the blood royal of Scotland. After Warbeck had failed in a descent upon the coast of Kent and returned to Flanders, the Duchess of Burgundy displayed a scene of refined hypocrisy. She passed in severe scrutiny the evidence of his pretensions, publicly acknowledged him as her nephew, gave him a suitable establishment, and soon after enabled him to make another, which was his last effort in Ireland. He landed at Cork, on the 26th of July, but found, that the nation was then so steadily kept in awe by Sir E. Poynings, that he despaired of success; and in consequence of an invitation from the Cornish men in the beginning of September he sailed from Cork, with one hundred and twenty soldiers, whom by the countenance of Desmond, he had enlisted into his service. Warbeck having advanced with his Cornish men as far as Taunton, was forced to abandon his projects, and fled to sanctuary in Beaulieu in Hampshire, where he surrendered himself, and was committed a prisoner to the Tower of London; whence having once escaped, he was recommitted; and upon a second attempt to escape, was hanged, together with the Mayor of Cork, who had followed him through all his adventures from his arrival in that town to the gallows at Tyburn. About the same time Henry ordered the young Earl of Warwick, the last of the Plantagenets, to be tried for designing to disturb the government. Warwick con-

fessed the indictments, was condemned and executed. A sentence, which neither the peace of the realm, nor the safety of the King appeared to call for \*.

1504.

Battle of  
Knocktow,  
and death  
of Henry  
VII.

The magnanimity of Kildare was put to a severe proof by the rebellion of Ulicke Burk, Lord Clanricarde, who had married his daughter. Even this connection restrained him not from his duty. He collected the forces of government, and met the enemy at Knocktow, near Galway. The Irish were defeated with the loss of four thousand, (the book of Hoath says nine thousand) men : and several prisoners, among whom were the two sons of Clanricarde, fell into the hands of the English. The English reports of this battle are utterly incredible. Though infinitely inferior in number to the Irish, not a man, say they, was wounded or killed in the battle. Some ineffectual efforts of the natives, aided by some discontented English took place before the close

\* Bacon, who in all things studied to magnify his sage and hero, tells us, that the crime, for which Warwick was indicted was for joining Warbeck in the attempt to escape out of prison ; which he either could not or would not deny. No crime surely in an innocent captive. But he also insinuates something of state policy in this barbarous execution of an unoffending youth, whose sole crime was the noble and legitimate blood, that flowed in his veins. Papers were produced from the father of Catharine of Arragon, who was first betrothed to Prince Arthur, and afterwards married to Henry VIII. suggesting, that there could be no safety for the reigning family, whilst the true Plantagenet existed, and all their title to the crown united in the young Earl of Warwick.



1504. of Henry's reign, during the remainder of which nothing worth notice happened in Ireland. Henry died of a consumption in the 52d year of his age, after having reigned twenty-three years and eight months.

THE  
HISTORY OF IRELAND,

&c. &c.

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BOOK II.

COMPRISING THE PERIOD OF TIME FROM THE RE-  
FORMATION OF RELIGION UNDER HENRY VIII.  
TO THE REVOLUTION UNDER JAMES II.

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CHAPTER I.

*The Reign of Henry VIII.*

HENRY was but in the nineteenth year of his age when his father died. In his person were united all the pretensions of the houses of York and Lancaster. He succeeded to the throne to the uncommon joy of the people, who had long been disgusted with the increasing jealousy, severity, and avarice of his father. Henry was endowed with extraordinary accomplishments both of mind and body. He complied with his father's request by marrying the Princess Catharine of Arragon, the betrothed widow of his elder

1509.  
Accession  
and cha-  
racter of  
Henry VIII.

1513. brother Prince Arthur, within six weeks after his father's decease, and before his coronation. Henry VII. had it in contemplation to seat his second son Henry in the see of Canterbury, and in that view had given him a classical and learned education, in order to qualify him for that station.

English and protestant ascendancy. Such is the peculiarity of the events, which mark this period of Irish history, that truth and candor become formidable to the historian, who seeks the approbation of his cotemporary readers. We have seen how the interests of Ireland suffered from an English ascendancy, whilst both countries professed the same religion. We shall hereafter trace the origin and progress of the protestant ascendancy, which arose out of the change of the national religion.

Henry inattentive to the affairs of Ireland. Vanity and ambition prompted Henry to interfere in the politics of the continent, and to lose sight of Ireland. Kildare and the other ministers of state were continued in office. The same spirit of loyalty, by which the deputy had been distinguished during the latter part of the reign of Henry the Seventh, attached him to the interests of his son. He advanced against a body of insurgents of the district contiguous to Desmond, and depopulated their country, but suffered greatly. He returned to Dublin, and soon after died. Upon his death the council elected his son Gerald deputy, and Henry confirmed the choice. The insurrections suppressed by Kildare broke out afresh, but Gerald quickly re-established tranquillity. The honors conferred upon him excited the envy of Peter Butler Earl of Ormond, who, the more effectually

to injure the deputy, paid court to Wolsey, and accused Kildare of having unjustly alienated the King's revenue, and of having entered into secret connections with the enemies of his government. The deputy was summoned to England to answer for his conduct, was deprived of his office, and Thomas Earl of Surry substituted in his place as lord lieutenant, who effectually opposed O'Nial, accepted his submission, and conferred on him the honour of knighthood, and other marks of royal favor.

1521.

Surry was as much distinguished by his civil as his military conduct. After a residence in Ireland of two years, he returned to England, when he was placed at the head of the troops, with which Henry had prepared to invade France. Ormond succeeded Surry as deputy in Ireland. His administration was not agreeable to the generality of the pale, and Kildare, who had been out of the kingdom for some time, returned and renewed his animosity against the viceroy. Their mutual complaints were transmitted to England. Kildare succeeded; and the reins of government being taken from Ormond, were committed to him: but his honours were transient. The King of France, then at war with England, to embarrass Henry, proposed to enter into a treaty with Desmond, who listened to the offer. Henry highly provoked commanded the deputy to seize him. Kildare, from partiality to his kinsman, made a show of obedience, but did not execute the order. His enemies represented his conduct to the King, who cast him into prison, from which he was with difficulty afterwards enlarged.

Ormond in  
power, Kil-  
dare impris-  
oned.

1526.  
Overbear-  
ing influ-  
ence of Kil-  
dare.

Many circumstances combined to render the English monarch, who was known only at a distance by his Irish subjects, rather hateful than gracious. The Earl of Kildare, who on the death of Wolsey had regained the height of favor, felt himself confirmed in the lieutenantcy almost beyond the power of opposition, and instead of the relative dignity of a vicegerent, he affected the sovereign grandeur of an Irish chieftain. The lords of the old Irish race crowded round him, and were received as his kinsmen and associates. Two of his daughters were given in marriage to O'Connor of O'Faly, and O'Carroll, two powerful chieftains in defiance of the law, which prohibited such connections. The whole pale, except the partisans of Kildare, was not only shut out of favour, but even protection.

Kildare  
confined,  
and his son  
Lord Tho-  
mas exe-  
cuted.

Kildare had thus sharpened the envy and efforts of his enemies. He was summoned to England under a peremptory mandate to commit the government to some person in his absence, for whom he should be responsible: he unfortunately intrusted it to his son Lord Thomas Fitzgerald, an amiable and accomplished youth of twenty-one years of age. Kildare, soon after his landing in England, was committed to the Tower; and false reports were circulated in Ireland, that he had been beheaded. They no sooner reached his son, than he instantly flew into open rebellion, and was supported by numerous malecontents amongst the Geraldines, who had been supplied with arms and ammunition by Kildare before his departure, in contemplation of the probability of such an event. After various disasters produced by the temerity of

Lord Thomas, the rebellion was suppressed under the administration of Sir William Skeffington; and O'Nial and O'Connor, who had joined in it, made their submission to Henry. Lord Thomas had been promised his pardon on condition of his making personal submission to the King. He went over to England in full confidence, was arrested on his way to Windsor, committed to the Tower, and soon after executed as a rebel and a traitor. 1534.

Henry affected to consider the suppression of the late rebellion as a new conquest of Ireland, and proposed it as a question to be debated in his council, whether he had not thereby acquired a right to seize at once on all the estates of that kingdom spiritual and temporal. He breathed infuriated revenge against the whole lineage of Kildare. Lord Gray, the new lord deputy, received orders from Henry to seize the five uncles of Lord Thomas Fitzgerald, and send them prisoners to London. Of these, three were known to have totally disapproved and opposed the insurrection of their nephew, and the whole number had reason to expect impunity from the treaty made with the rebels. This confidence proved their snare. They accepted an invitation from Lord Gray to a banquet, at which they were made prisoners, conveyed to London, and there suffered the punishment of high treason. Gerald, a youth under twelve years of age, the brother of Lord Thomas, escaped the vengeance of the King by the vigilance of his guardian, who secretly conveyed him to Cardinal Pole, then in Italy, who received the young lord as his kinsman, educated

Five brothers of Kildare taken by treachery and executed.

1535.



him suitably to his birth, and preserved him to regain the honours of the family of Kildare \*.

Representa-  
tion of the  
state of the  
nation to  
Henry.

A powerful party was formed of the enemies to Kildare, at the head of which was Allan, Archbishop of Dublin, the deprived chancellor; an eleve and favourite of Wolsey. They resolved to commission the Master of the Rolls, in the name of the lords of the council, to repair to England, and lay the state of the country before the King, and implore the royal interposition. He accordingly opened his commission by representing to his Majesty the confined boundaries of the English laws, manners, language, and habit, at length reduced to the narrow compass of twenty miles; the melancholy consequence of those illegal exactions and oppressions, by which the English tenantry had been driven from their settlements; the grievous tribute, which the remains of these loyal subjects were obliged to pay the Irish lords for a precarious protection; the enormous jurisdictions granted to the lords of the English race, that favoured their oppressions, and stopped the course of justice; the rabble of disaffected Irish settled purposely on their lands, whom they oppressed with impunity, and whom they found their readiest instruments for oppressing others; the negligence of the King's officers in keeping the records; their unskilful conduct in the Exchequer; but above all the alienation of the crown lands, which reduced

\* The Earl of Kildare is said to have died in prison through grief at hearing of his son's defeat. This Lord Gray did not long survive his treachery, having been beheaded on Tower Hill in 1541, for having joined in some conspiracy against the King.

the revenue to a state of dangerous insufficiency, and left the realm without succour or resource. Many of the public disorders were ascribed to a too frequent change of governors: and the King's highness was intreated that for the future he would be graciously pleased to intrust the charge of his Irish government to some loyal subject sent from his realm of England, whose sole object should be the honor and interest of the crown, unconnected with Irish factions, and uninfluenced by partial favor or aversion \*.

1534.



Henry, though impetuous and ungovernable in his passions, wanted not penetration to see the weakness of his power over the Irish, who in their present situation were rather to be soothed by policy, than compelled by force into the adoption of his measures. His mind was now bent upon the most effectual means of introducing the reformation into Ireland. Lord Cromwell, who upon the death of Wolsey had succeeded to as much of his Prince's favor, as Henry would again bestow upon a subject, in his quality of vicar-general in spirituals, appointed George Browne the provincial of the Augustine Friars, who had been prominently conspicuous in preaching up the reformation in London, to succeed Allan in the archiepiscopal see of Dublin. He was sent over with other commissioners, specially instructed and appointed to confer with the clergy and nobility, in order to procure a general ac-

Henry begins the work of reformation in Ireland.

\* This state of grievances singularly coincides with others of later dates; for it is a melancholy truth, that this country has been doomed for centuries to suffer a similarity, as well as continuance of oppression.



1536.



knowledge of the King's spiritual supremacy. But the task was found more difficult, than the impetuosity of the King, or the fastidious contempt, which the English minister entertained of this country led them to suspect. The true Irish have ever been enthusiastically tenacious of their religion.

Reforma-  
tion oppos-  
ed by Pri-  
mate Cromer.

No sooner had the commissioners appointed by the King explained their instructions and demanded an acknowledgment of his supremacy, than Cromer, primate of Armagh, an Englishman by birth, and who had some time held the office of chancellor, openly declared against an attempt so impious. He summoned the suffragans and clergy of his province: and to those, whom he could collect, he pathetically represented the danger, which now threatened the religion of their ancestors, exhorting them to adhere inviolably to the apostolic chair. He enjoined them by his spiritual authority to resist all innovation, as they tendered their everlasting salvation; and pronounced a tremendous curse against those, who should sacrilegiously acknowledge the King's supremacy. In the mean time he dispatched two emissaries to Rome, to represent the danger of the church, and to intreat the interposition of the pontiff. The King's commission was treated with contempt; and his vicar, on account of the meanness of his birth, became even a subject of popular ridicule\*.

\* Archbishop Browne, in one of his letters to Lord Cromwell, tells him with an awkward and uncourtly simplicity, the "country folk here much hate your lordship, and despitefully call you, in their Irish tongue, *the blacksmith's son*."

Archbishop Browne, with the assistance of some of his suffragans, laboured in support of the commission; but he was treated not only with disdain but outrage, and his life was exposed to danger from the opponents of the reformation. Such at least were the apprehensions he expressed. He informed Lord Cromwell of his bad success and the opposition of Cromer, and represented the zeal of the people and their attachment to Rome as determined as the constancy of the most enlightened martyrs; and expressed his fears that they would engage some of the old chieftains, and particularly O'Nial, to rise in defence of their religion. He recommended a parliament as the most effectual method of enforcing the reformation. Lord Gray, who was still engaged in suppressing the disjointed relicks of the Geraldine rebellion, soon after received a commission to summon a parliament, which accordingly convened at Dublin on the first of May 1536.

1536.

Archbishop Browne unsuccessful in forwarding the Reformation.

The transactions of the late parliament at Westminster were holden out to the members convened, as a model for their imitation. Therefore, as to all acts concerning the reformation of religion, the Irish are mere transcripts of the English statutes upon the same subjects. The King was declared supreme head on earth of the church of Ireland; all appeals to Rome in spiritual causes were taken away; the English law against slandering the King in consequence of these innovations was enacted and confirmed in Ireland, together with the provisions made in England for payment of first fruits to the King; and not

Irish statutes of the King's supremacy.

1536. only of the first fruits of bishopricks and other secular promotions in the church of Ireland, but by another act he was vested with those of abbies, priories, colleges, and hospitals. By a further act the authority of the bishop of Rome was more solemnly renounced, and the maintainers of it in Ireland made subject to a *præmunire*. Officers of every kind and degree were required to take the oath of supremacy; and every person refusing it was declared, as in England, guilty of high treason. Payment of pensions and suing for dispensations and faculties to Rome were utterly prohibited, by accommodating to Ireland the English law made for this purpose. By one act twelve religious houses, by another the priory of St. Wolstan's particularly, were suppressed, and their demesnes vested in the crown.

Servile conduct of the Irish parliament.

As to the inheritable right of succeeding to the lordship of Ireland, the parliament annulled the marriage of the King with Catharine of Arragon, and confirmed the sentence of separation by the Archbishop of Canterbury. It declared the inheritance of the crown to be in the King and his heirs by Queen Ann (of Boleyn). It made it high treason to oppose that succession, and misprision of treason to slander it, or refuse the new oath for establishing it. On the execution of Ann Boleyn, and the King's marriage with the Lady Jane Seymour, the Irish parliament, in servile imitation of that of England, instantly repealed their late act, and passed an act of attainder on the late Queen Ann, George Boleyn, Lord Rochford,

William Brereton, and Mark Smeaton, as accomplices in the supposed guilt of that unhappy lady. Both the former marriages of Henry were declared null; the succession was new modelled, and declared to be in the King and his heirs by the Lady Jane, his then Queen; and, in default of such heirs, he was empowered to dispose of the inheritance of the lordship of Ireland (as of the crown of England) by letters patent, or by will. 1536.

Other acts were made for the attainder of the Earl of Kildare and others, and for enforcing some invidious and mischievous regulations, which tended only to gratify the resentment, lust, avarice, and ambition of Henry, and rendered the English power contemptible and odious to the Irish nation \*.

Impolitic violence in forcing the reformation.

In order to remove a powerful opposition to the introduction of the royal supremacy, a previous act was passed to exclude from parliament the two proctors

Proctors excluded from Parliament.

\* This policy of the English to discourage all connexion of the colony with the native Irish, the late Lord Clare observed, in the Irish House of Lords on the 10th of Feb. 1800, was not "to be reconciled to any principle of sound policy: it was a declaration of perpetual war, not only against the native Irish, but against every person of English blood, who had settled beyond the limits of the pale, and from motives of personal interest or convenience had formed connexions with the natives, or adopted their laws and customs; and it had the full effect, which might have been expected: it drew closer the confederacy it was meant to dissolve, and implicated the colony of the pale in ceaseless warfare and contention with each other, and with the inhabitants of the adjacent districts. It was equally hopeless and impolitic to call upon the people at once to abjure the religion of their ancestors, and to subscribe to new doctrines."

1536. from every diocese, who had usually attended the parliaments in Ireland. This was considered by the nation an act of the most tyrannical oppression. The non-reforming party, though deprived of the assistance of so powerful a body both in the lords and commons, joined in expressing their abhorrence of the spiritual authority assumed by the King, whilst the ministers of Henry were equally determined in defence of it. Archbishop Browne took the lead, and unequivocally pronounced those who opposed him to have no right to be treated as loyal subjects. Fear conquered persuasion; and the oppugners of the supremacy reserved themselves for a clandestine opposition to the execution of laws, which they could not prevent from being enacted. But the hand of power was called in, and an act passed to make felony the attempt to invalidate any of the laws passed during that session of parliament. To enforce so presumptuous a decision of the legislature, it became necessary to add extraordinary vigilance and activity in the field. It was obvious, that religious controversy would aggravate the disorders of the country. *\*At this time a new schism arose, which has been the bane and pestilence of Ireland.* Religion was made a common cause, and afforded so powerful a pretence for insurrection, as for the time to have absorbed all the other grievances which Henry had heaped upon the Irish.

\* Lord Clare's speech, p. 7. In this instance we hope, that noble earl was less accurate in predicting the future than in rehearsing the past. He continues, "It has rendered her a blank amidst the nations of Europe, and will, I fear, long continue to retard her progress in the civilised world."

Archbishop Browne, the great agent of the Irish reformation, found the utmost difficulty even in the seat of government to counteract the influence of Cromer. The clergy of his cathedral opposed his attempts to remove their images and relicks, which the commissioners exposed to sale without decency or reserve. Lord Gray burnt the cathedral of Down, and destroyed the ancient monuments of the saints Patrick, Bridget, and Columbkille. Several relicks, and among others the crozier of St. Patrick, which the natives held in great veneration, were indignantly committed to the flames. This violence offered to the feelings of the natives, superadded to other provocations and insults, produced collisions in the country, that threatened its very existence.

1539.  
Archbishop  
Browne  
forwards  
the refor-  
mation.

Nearly four centuries had elapsed since the invasion of Ireland: it had been a chequered scene of arrogant oppression and servile humiliation, intemperate conquest and calamitous defeat, rancorous perfidy and hostile outrage. But from the introduction of the reformation, religious differences exacerbated civil dissensions. O'Nial, O'Bryan, and other Irish chieftains made religion their pretext for rising in arms. They failed, and submitted to the King. Henry learnt by experience to increase his power over the Irish rather by grace and favor, than severity or force. He bestowed honors and titles upon several of the chief families of those who came in, and induced them to resort to his court, where he honoured them with particular marks of attention, and loaded them with presents. In order the more effectually to

Religion  
made an  
excuse for  
insurrection

1542. reconcile them to the English government, he granted to each of the newly created peers, a house and lands near Dublin, for their more convenient attendance on the lord lieutenant and parliament. Thus the reformation made considerable progress with the great, but advanced more slowly with the lower orders.

The lordship converted into the kingdom of Ireland.

To second the disposition of the Irish, which now appeared favorable to peace, and to give weight and brilliancy to the English government; St. Leger was commissioned to summon a parliament \*, which enacted, that forasmuch as the King and his progenitors ever rightfully enjoyed all authority royal by the name of *Lords of Ireland*, but for lack of the title of King were not duly obeyed, his Highness and his heirs for ever should have the style and honor of *King of Ireland*, and that it should be deemed high treason to impeach that title, or to oppose the royal authority. Amongst several salutary statutes of this session, an excellent law † was passed, that electors in future were to be possessed in freeholds of forty shillings a year; and that such as were elected for counties, cities, and towns, should be resident in the places for which they were elected. One act however was passed in this parliament, which most injudiciously tended to create fresh jealousies, and alienate the affections of the Irish; viz. that, on the death,

\* 33 Hen. VIII. c. 1.

† This act was announced with great joy and exultation, and was followed up with a royal proclamation, which may be seen in the Appendix to my Historical Review, No. IV.

resignation, or recall of a deputy, the chancellor should issue writs to the privy counsellors to assemble and choose for Governor, during the King's pleasure, a layman of English birth, and if none such could be procured, two laymen of English blood and surname to be lords justices, to whom the lord chancellor should administer the oath and give patents. This distinction in favor of the English, wounded and insulted the feelings of the Irish, to whom it must have appeared evident, that men born and having property and a natural interest in that country were the persons the most natural, and best qualified to be intrusted with the government of it.

1542.

So notorious was it, that the acts of the Irish parliament, though nominally affecting the whole kingdom, produced no effect beyond the pale, that the government passed some ordinances for the regulation of such parts of the kingdom, as were without the pale. These were not entirely consonant with the English laws, but such as might tend to the gradual reformation of those, who (as the preamble of the ordinances expresses it) were not "so perfectly acquainted with the laws, that they could at once live and be governed by them." They were published by way of proclamation, on the 12th of July, 1542\*.

Ordinances  
to be ob-  
served with-  
out the pale.

\* They were called temporary constitutions made by the lord deputy and council in *magno parlamento pro reformatione habitantium hujus regni in partibus Memoniæ qui nondum sic sapiunt leges et jura, ut secundum ea jam immediate vivere aut regi possint*. Any public act of parliament to this effect would have been inconsistent with the statutes published in the 33d of Henry VIII.



1542.

And although no attempts were as yet made to introduce a new system of jurisprudence into other quarters of the island, yet a number of commissioners were appointed for each province, who were to exercise the office of the ancient Brehons, to hear and decide occasional controversies, or refer them to the deputy or council, when the cause was perplexed or the parties obstinate.

Sir J. Davies' state of Ireland at the time.

Sir J. Davies fairly represents the state of Ireland at this period of Henry's reign. "For all this while, the provinces of Connaught and Ulster, and a good parte of Leinster, were not reduced to shire ground. And though Mounster were anciently divided into counties, the people were so degenerate, as no justice of assize durst execute his commission amongst them. None of the Irish lords or tenants were settled in their possessions by anie graunte or confirmation of the crowne, except the three great earls before named; who, notwithstanding, did govern their tenants and followers by the Irish or Brehon law, so as no treason, murther, rape, or theft, committed in those countries, was inquired of or punished by the law of England." And he also remarks: "That the abbies and religious houses in Tyrone, Tirconnel, and Fermanagh, though they were dissolved in the 33d year of Henry VIII. were never surveyed nor reduced into charge, but

therefore this half-measured compromise came out as an act of the deputy and council, and was notified to the subject by way of proclamation. The ordinances are to be seen in the App. to my Historical Review, No. V.

were continually possessed by religious persons until <sup>1544.</sup>  
the reign of James I."

In this state of things, O'Nial, O'Donnel, O'Dog-  
herty, and some other Irish chieftains, either repent-  
ing of their too hasty submission, or weary of their  
dependance upon the English, proposed terms to the  
French King to become his subjects, on condition of  
his sending over a sufficient force to enable them  
to shake off the English yoke. Francis the First  
sent over the Bishop of Valence to reconnoitre  
and report to him the situation of the country,  
and the probability of expelling the English. This  
prelate found the chieftain of Tyrconnel, and some  
other of the Irish dynasts to whom he applied, either  
so staunch to their engagements with Henry, or so  
averse from submitting to a foreign yoke, that the  
French monarch declined engaging in the affair. On  
the other hand the Irish showed themselves ever ready  
to fight the battles of England; and Henry was at-  
tended to the siege of Boulogne by a corps of Irish in-  
fantry, who distinguished themselves by their activity,  
prowess, and loyalty.

Some fresh contests broke out between the Irish  
chieftains and their dependants, and were settled by  
the arbitration of the chief governor. The unusual  
degree of tranquillity which the country enjoyed dur-  
ing the remainder of Henry's reign was evidently the  
effect of terror. Of all monarchs, who ever sat on  
the British throne, Henry was unquestionably the  
most arbitrary and despotic. He never was known to  
spare man in his rage, nor woman in his lust. The

The Irish  
apply to the  
King of  
France,  
who de-  
clines as-  
sisting  
them.

Death and  
character of  
Henry.

*The Reign of Henry VIII.*

1543

change he effected in the national religion, has rendered it difficult to meet with any historian who has not brightened or blackened his character to exaggeration. He reigned thirty-seven years, and died in the 56th year of his age.

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## CHAPTER II.

### *The Reign of Edward VI.*

EDWARD the only son of Henry VIII. was but in the 10th year of his age, at the death of his father. His infancy, and the short duration of his reign call our attention merely to the general effects of forcing the reformation of religion upon the Irish, in unison with the spirit of reform, which actuated the regency of England during the whole of this reign, which lasted only six years, five months, and nine days.

1546.  
Reign of  
Edward af-  
fected not  
Ireland.

Shortly after the demise of Henry, O'Moore, O'Byrne, O'Connor and some other chieftains showed themselves in arms, hoping to take advantage of the weakness of the English government during the infancy of the monarch. They were subdued by Sir Anthony Bellingham, who had been seasonably sent over with a reinforcement of four hundred foot and six hundred horse. Desmond also having shown symptoms of turbulency was surprised in his house by the deputy and carried prisoner to Dublin. Bellingham so worked upon him by reason and mildness, that Desmond made sincere atonement, was released upon giving sureties for his future conduct, and continued peaceable and loyal to his death \*. Belling-

Insurgent  
chieftains  
subdued by  
Bellingham.

\* Desmond after his release daily prayed for the deputy by the name of the good Bellingham.

1546. ham was too upright a governor, not to become an object of jealousy and intrigue. He was accused of not having effectually supported the English interest, and of other malpractices. Being recalled to take his trial in England, he died before it came on, having indignantly rejected terms of compromise from his accusers\*.

Tardy progress of the reformation

As in Ireland the reformation was tendered to a people very tenacious of their ancient faith, many of whom were avowed enemies of English government, and many staunch opposers of English administration, it made but tardy progress. The protector Somerset having successfully advanced the reformation in England, was resolved, that the Liturgy of the Church of England should, as well as other new ordinances concerning religion, be introduced into Ireland. Orders were accordingly sent over to convene a parliament for this purpose; but, from apprehension of violent opposition, that design was dropped, and a royal proclamation was transmitted to the clergy, enjoining the acceptance of the new Liturgy. This innovation in religion was unexpectedly and violently opposed by Dowdall of Armagh, the new primate. Besides Archbishop Browne, four only of the bishops submitted to the proclamation; and these five were not supported by their own clergy. The new Liturgy was performed for the first time on Easter Sunday, A. D. 1551, in the cathedral

\* Ormond his prime accuser was soon after poisoned with sixteen of his retinue at a feast at a house in Holborn; but whether by accident or treachery was never discovered.

of Christ Church, Dublin, in the presence of the deputy, magistrates, and the few of the Dublin clergy who had then conformed. 1551.

Injudicious measures were adopted, that tended to ulcerate the public mind too tenderly sore upon the subject of religion. A public conference, or rather a theological disputation, was holden in St. Mary's Abbey, between Dowdall on behalf of the catholic, and Staples of Meath on behalf of the reformed religion. This spiritual tournament produced its natural and usual effect: each champion claimed the victory, and each party retired with increased acrimony against the other. John Bale, the violent impugner of popery, was nominated to the see of Ossory. His learning was great, his temper vehement. He insulted the prejudices of his flock. They were provoked, and not so restrained by the civil power, as to dissemble their resentments. Five of his domestics were slain before his face; and his own life was saved by the interposition of the magistrate.

As a mean of establishing the tranquillity of Ireland on a more permanent basis, applications were made by the deputy to the English cabinet for an extension of the English law to all the Irish natives. They were not attended to. Times and circumstances were altered. The Irish once offered to purchase the participation of the English law. The attempt to introduce a new system of religion with an English ritual, connected itself with national prejudice against English oppression, and co-operated in raising the insurrection of Tyrone, for the suppression of which

A religious  
conference  
appointed.

The Irish  
apply for an  
extension of  
English  
law.

1553. we must look to a later period of the Irish history. This nobleman, notwithstanding he had lately made a full submission and accepted of an English title, retained all his native predilections for the greatness and regal splendor of his family. He had once pronounced a curse upon those of his posterity, who should conform to the English manners, or associate with the Saxon race. With this he was often upbraided by his kinsmen and followers; and finding the Irish nation now more than ever estranged from the English government, by their recent attempt to force them out of their religion, he chose this as the most favorable moment to throw off allegiance, and revert to the ancient consequence and independence of O'Nial.

### CHAPTER III.

#### *The Reign of Mary.*

THE reign of the Princess Mary must be considered as having immediately followed the demise of her brother, notwithstanding the short interregnum of ten days, during which the unfortunate Lady Jane Grey, who had been proclaimed Queen by Northumberland, was possessed of the crown. The English council was at first surprised into compliance with the violent measures of Northumberland, and had actually transmitted an order for proclaiming the Lady Jane in Ireland; but before these first orders had been acted upon, another messenger was dispatched to revoke them, expressing their concern at having thus *borne with the time*, declaring, that their sovereign Queen Mary had been proclaimed in London, and directing a like proclamation to be made to all her subjects of Ireland. All the great officers of state were confirmed in their several departments: a general pardon was granted to all her subjects, and a license was published as in England, for the exercise of the Catholic religion without penalty or compulsion.

1553.

Queen Mary proclaimed Queen of Ireland.

The death of Edward VI. and the short reign of his sister Mary, gave some respite to the troubled state of Ireland. The only measure of the British cabinet in the late reign affecting Ireland related to the ecclesiastical system. The first act of Mary's reign which touched that system, was a proclamation, by which she

Civil establishment of the catholic religion restored



1556.

end he caused an act \* to pass in the same parliament, authorizing the Lord Chancellor, from time to time, to award commissions to such persons as the Lord Deputy should nominate and appoint, to viewe and perambulate those Irish territories; and thereupon to divide and limit the same into such and so manie several counties, as they should thinke meete; which being certified to the lord deputie and approved by him, should bee returned and enrolled in the Chancery, and from thenceforth be of like force and effect, as if it were doone by act of parliament. Thus did the Earl of Sussex lay open a passage for the civil government in the unreformed partes of this kingdome; but himself proceeded no farther than is before declared."

Mary's government  
displeasing  
to the Irish.

So confident was the English government of the pacific disposition of the Irish in this reign, that the army was reduced to about 1000 men. The renewed turbulence, however, of some Irish chiefs to each other, and the lawless conduct of the Scottish adventurers, soon rendered it necessary to encrease it with reinforcements from England. Although the Irish were in general gratified by the restoration of the catholic religion to its ancient footing, they were dissatisfied with the civil administration of the power of the crown within the kingdom.

\* To show the precarious title of the crown out of the pale, the preamble of this act particularly recites, that as these territories were known not to be within any shire of the kingdom, no title for the crown could be found, as will be seen at large in the first section of 2 chap. of 3 and 4 of P. and M.

They were particularly sore at the power vested in the Lord Lieutenant, to dispose of the territories of Leix and Offaly in royal grants, which defeated the inheritable rights of the native owners of those lands. O'Sullivan says, that notwithstanding Mary's zeal for supporting and promoting the catholic religion, yet was her administration injurious to Ireland\*. She died on the 17th of November 1558.

\* *Que tametsi Catholicam religionem tueri et amplificare conata est, ejus tamen prefecti et conciliarii injuriam Ibernis inferre non destiterunt.* Sull. Cath. Hist. p. 81.

## CHAPTER IV.

### *The Reign of Elizabeth.*

1558.  
Elizabeth finds the Irish peaceably disposed.

UPON the demise of Mary, Queen Elizabeth mounted the English throne without opposition, under the act of succession made in the thirty-fifth year of Henry VIII. She found the Irish nation more generally submissive to the English government, than it had been under any of her predecessors. She prudently continued in the lieutenancy the Earl of Sussex, who was acceptable to most of the natives, and had with a garrison of 320 horse and 1360 foot kept Ireland in peace and quiet. Notwithstanding the general disposition of the nation to submit to the English government, none of the provinces were altogether free from internal dissension. Much of the pacific conduct of the Irish during the short reign of Mary was attributable to the general satisfaction, which the redintegration of the civil establishment of the catholic religion afforded to the nation at large.

Commencement of surveys.

No sooner had Elizabeth declared for the Reformation, than general discontent pervaded the nation within and without the pale. Amongst the instructions sent to Sussex written in Cecil's own hand, were directions to make a survey of all lands spiritual and temporal; that none should be letten but upon the best survey, and that the lands of Leix and Offaly should be disposed of to the best advantage of

the Queen and the country. Every province was thereby thrown into a state of commotion, or provoked to insurrection. Munster was distracted by the inveterate enmities and animosities of the O'Briens, Thomond, Desmond, and Ormond. Connaught was miserably harassed by the feuds subsisting between Clanricarde and another sept of the De Burgos. In Leinster, the survivors of the old families of Leix and Offaly considered themselves deprived of their inheritances by an iniquitous scheme of fraud, treachery, power, violence, and oppression: they were stimulated by revenge and a spirit of reprisal to rise in arms against the grantees of their lands. John O'Nial, upon the death of his father in confinement at Dublin, claimed the sovereignty of the province of Ulster.

Elizabeth's first concern was to promote the reformed religion through Ireland, as successfully as she had through England, not only as to the spiritual supremacy, which alone her father had attempted, but as to several dogmatical points of faith. Conscious that this innovation would be strongly opposed even by a parliament of the pale, she gave special instructions to her lieutenant to predispose the members to forward her views, and ordered writs to be issued to the representatives of ten counties instead of six, as had heretofore been usual. Being tolerably secure of a majority in both houses, a parliament was convened in the second year of her reign; by which it was enacted, that the spiritual jurisdiction should be restored to the crown; that all the acts of her sister Mary, by which the civil establishment of the Roman ca-

1558,  
The reformation enacted by parliament.

1560. tholic religion had been renewed, should be repealed; that the Queen should be enabled to appoint commissioners to exercise ecclesiastical jurisdiction; that all officers and ministers ecclesiastical or lay should on pain of forfeiture and total incapacity take the oath of supremacy; that every person, as well as his aider, abettor, or counsellor, who should in any way maintain the spiritual supremacy of the Bishop of Rome, should forfeit for the first offence all his estates real and personal (or be imprisoned for one year if not worth 20 *l.*), incur a *præmunire* for the second offence, and become guilty of high treason for the third; that the use of the Common Prayer should be enforced as in England; that every person should resort to the established church, and attend the new service under pain of ecclesiastical censures, and of the forfeiture of twelve-pence for every offence, to be levied by the churchwardens by distress of the lands or chattels of the defaulter; that the first fruits and twentieths of all church revenues should be restored to the crown; and the old writ and form of *congé d'élire* superseded by the King's letters patent, by which in future all collations to vacant sees were to be made. These ordinances were followed by an act of recognition of the Queen's title to the crown; and it was made a case of *præmunire* to speak, and treason to write against it.

Effects of  
this parliament.

So much had Sussex been alarmed by the opposition he had encountered in parliament\*, though he

\* It sat from the 12th of January to the 12th of February.

ultimately succeeded, that he found it necessary quickly to dissolve it. He repaired to England to give to the Queen, in person, a minute and faithful account of the reception these new laws had met with from the Irish nation. The people were provoked by the violence offered to their religious prejudices. The partizans of Rome inveighed against the Queen as an heretic. The non-conforming clergy abandoned their cures ; no reformed ministers could be found to supply them ; the churches fell to ruin ; the people were left without religious worship ; and the statutes lately made were evaded or neglected with impunity. 1561.

Under this general discontent the kingdom was for several years convulsed, either by internal feuds, or the grand insurrection of O'Nial, that ended by his treacherous murder at a banquet in the camp of the Scotch adventurers. In order to put down faction and disturbance, to provide for the necessities of government, and forward reform, Elizabeth \*, in the eleventh year of her reign, convened Elizabeth convenes a second parliament.

\* 2 Lel. p. 226. The late Lord Clare, who was less ignorant than desirous of the good of Ireland, has fairly described the state of the kingdom under Elizabeth. " It seems difficult to conceive any more unjust or impolitic act of government, than an attempt to force new modes of religious faith and worship by severe penalties upon a rude, superstitious, and unlettered people. Persecutions or attempts to force conscience will never produce conviction. They are calculated only to make hypocrites or martyrs : and accordingly the violence committed by the regency of Edward, and continued by Elizabeth, to force the reformed religion on Ireland, had no other effect, than to foment a general disaffection to the English government ; a disaffection so general, as to induce Philip II.

1569.

another parliament, which continued by several prorogations to the thirteenth. This, like too many other parliaments of Ireland, amidst some plausible and beneficial acts passed others, which in their nature could but increase the disaffection of the people, and consequently operate to the prejudice of both kingdoms. Such must ever be the effect of the unconstitutional formation of a parliament for the base purpose of giving legislative sanction to unjust measures. Whilst the English pursued a system so galling to the Irish, opposition was to be expected: to counteract which considerable management had been used, and irregularities committed by the court party in the elections and returns of the Commons.

Differences  
in the  
House of  
Commons.

Stanihurst, recorder of Dublin, and Sir Christopher Barnewall, a favorite of the old English race, were proposed by their respective partizans for the office of speaker. The election of Stanihurst by the influence of the court enraged the party in opposition. Barnewall was universally esteemed for his political knowledge; he insisted, that the present House of Commons was illegally constituted; and on that ground opposed the admission of any bill. He was supported by Sir Edmond Butler and the whole real landed interest of the kingdom. It was alleged, that members were returned for towns not incorporated; that several sheriffs and magistrates of corporations had re-

of Spain to attempt partial descents on the southern coasts of this island, preparatory to his meditated attack upon England." *Speech of Lord Clare in the Irish House of Lords, 10th February, 1800, p. 9.*

turned themselves; and that numbers of Englishmen had been elected, and returned as burgesses for towns, which they had never seen or known, and consequently could not be considered residents, as the law directed. Four days were spent in clamorous altercation; the discontented members protesting, with great firmness, against proceeding on any business. The speaker attended the lord deputy and council, to explain the objections to the constitution of the house. The judges were consulted, and they declared, that those returned for towns not incorporated, and the magistrates who had returned themselves were incapable of sitting in parliament: but as to the members not resident in the towns, for which they were returned, that they were entitled to retain their seats, and that the penalty of returning them should light on the returning officers; a decision, which still left the government that majority of friends, which so much pains had been taken to procure; and which consequently increased the violence of the opposite party. The clamor ceased not until the judges came to the Commons house, and there openly avowed their opinion: Barnewall and his supporters reluctantly acquiesced, and reserved themselves for a vigorous contest against the measures of those whom they regarded as a mere English faction\*.

Amongst the Englishmen returned to this parliament was Mr. Hooker†, member for Athunree; he

Hooker  
raises a ferment in the  
house.

\* I have followed Dr. Leland (vol. ii. p. 241) in describing this early essay of legislating by a packed majority.

† To him we are indebted for these particulars.



1569.

had been also a member of the English parliament, and acquainted with the order and usage of its proceedings ; he affected to be highly scandalized at the tumult and irregularity of the Irish Commons, but was himself most violent in his opposition to Barnewall and his party. He broached some doctrines upon the royal prerogative, which though familiar in England, were yet novelties to the native Irish, who looking up to the ancient constitution were as yet neither dazzled by the splendor of a court, nor terrified by the peremptory decisions of an imperious monarch. It raised a flame so violent, that the assembly was adjourned in confusion, and Hooker retired under protection of a guard to his house. This violence having abated after some days, they proceeded to business.

Improvident and insulting acts of the Irish legislature.

Had there not been so formidable an opposition, more acts would have probably passed to forward the Reformation. Out of several statutes one only concerned religion, by which the governor was empowered to present to all the dignities of Munster and Connaught for ten years. The act for the attainder of Shane O'Neile, and the extinguishment of the name of O'Neile, and the entitling of the Queen's Majestie her heyres and successors, to the county of Tyrone, and to other countries and territories in Ulster\*, seems to have been studiously calculated to insult the feelings of the Irish nation. It enumerates his acts of rebellion in vindictive acrimony, and in order to expose the futility of any Irish pretences to any sovereignty in

\* 11 El. c. 1. scss. 3.

Ireland, affects to deduce the title of the English monarch to the sovereignty of that kingdom as paramount even to the Milesian race of kings \*; setting forth a fabulous tale of one King Gurmonde, "son to the noble King Belan of Great Britain, who was Lord of Bayon in Spain, as many of his successors were to the time of Henry II. who possessed the island *afort the coming of Irishmen into the said lande.*" This wanton act of legislative insult, offered to the feelings of a people peculiarly sensitive to the pride of national tradition, tended to goad them into rebellion.

1569.

Elizabeth was hated by the generality of the Irish, and she detested them. The insurrection of Desmond, Clanricarde, and other chieftains, kept the country in a constant state of warfare. The unsuccessful attempts of Sir Thomas Smith, and afterwards of the Queen's favorite the Earl of Essex† to establish an English settlement in Ulster upon the forfeited lands, greatly exasperated the Queen. In the indulgence of her resentment she afforded new grounds of disaffection even to her own subjects within the pale. She ordered Sir Henry Sidney, her lieutenant, to impose by the mere authority of council (without the interference

Elizabeth attempts to levy money by order of council.

\* For this abstract of the Queen's title to all the land in Ireland, vide the Appendix to my Historical Review, No. VII. where this burlesque degradation of legislative dignity is set forth.

† The confidential letter of Essex to the Queen will let us into more light upon the state of the English power in Ireland at this time, than the most elaborate representations of cotemporary, much more of modern authors. For which vide the Appendix to my Historical Review, No. VIII.

1576. of parliament) a new tax, by way of composition for the charge of purveyance, which amounted to about twelve pounds for every plough land. General discontent was the immediate consequence of this act of government, and was followed up by a remonstrance to the Lord Lieutenant against a system of taxation so oppressive and unconstitutional. Sidney persisted in supporting the prerogative, by which he contended the Queen had a right to impose the tax ; but offered to moderate it. Opposition in a cause so popular gained daily accession of strength : the principal lords through all parts of the realm refused obedience to the edict of council, and enjoined their tenants and dependants to refuse payment of the assessment.

The agents  
from the  
parliament  
committed  
by the  
Queen.

The inhabitants of the pale finding no redress from their governors, assembled, deliberated upon their grievances, and deputed three confidential agents to her Majesty with a written memorial of their case, signed by several lords and gentlemen of the pale. In lieu of redress they were committed to the Fleet Prison as contumacious opposers of the royal authority. The Queen sent orders to Sidney, to confine every person who should offer opposition to the new imposition, and dismiss all her servants, who had been present at the original complaint, and neglected to maintain her prerogative. Others of the first distinction again remonstrated against this unconstitutional mode of taxation. They were instantly committed to close confinement in the castle : and the agents in England upon a second application to the throne were removed from the Fleet to the Tower ; a proceeding, which im-

plied, that their offence was considered to be of a treasonable nature. The whole body of Irish subjects took the alarm, and the unanimity of their voice terrified even this arbitrary monarch. Both agents and remonstrants were ungraciously dismissed, upon making an acknowledgment, that they intended not to resist any just prerogative of the crown. This forced submission of the imperious Queen to the rights of her Irish subjects was probably wrung from her by the intelligence she had received of the intentions of the King of Spain to invade her kingdoms, in retaliation for her fomenting and supporting the insurrection of his rebellious subjects in the Netherlands.

1580.  
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The insurrection of Desmond was not yet subdued. A band of private adventurers, partly Spanish, partly Italian, and partly Irish, landed in a body of about 600 men on the coast of Kerry : they brought with them ammunition and arms for 5000 men ; and took possession of the fort of Smerwick, which the Spaniards had begun to erect but left unfinished. They were not joined as they expected by the Irish : being overpowered by numbers, they capitulated on terms ; yet every individual, except the commander and his staff, was massacred in cold blood. This military butchery was committed under the orders of Sir Walter Raleigh, who attempted to justify it by the imperious circumstance of an inferiority of numbers on the side of victory. The Queen is reported to have strongly reprobated the measure, when informed of it. It was however followed up with as much rancor, as if she

Massacre of
the Spaniards
at
Smerwick
by Raleigh.

1584.

had with her own hand signed the mandate for the bloody execution.

Irritating
conduct of
the govern-
ment.

Although the insurrection of Desmond were now nearly suppressed, yet scarcely could the olive branch be distinguished through the turbulent atmosphere of blood and slaughter. Ireland was again provoked by the rigor of her governors into fresh outrages. The Baron of Lixnau openly appeared in arms, and pleaded that he had been irritated into rebellion by the galling oppressions of Grey and his officers. In this instance the cry of grievance was not unattended to; policy created justice; Lord Grey was recalled; and a general amnesty offered to such of the rebels as would accept of it. The Queen had been for once truly informed, that if her governor continued to tyrannize with such barbarity, little would be left in Ireland for her Majesty to reign over, but ashes and carcases.

Prudent ad-
ministration
of Sir John
Perrot, and
a parlia-
ment.

The dissatisfaction of the Irish at the attempts to force the reformed religion upon them, and the excommunication of Elizabeth by Pius the Fifth, afforded a popular pretext for any rising against the government. The Queen profited of the first appearance of tranquillity to convene a parliament. Desmond had been found in a retired cabin and beheaded by a common soldier; and Baltinglass his principal supporter in despair had fled into Spain. Sir John Perrot the deputy had by his prudence brought the nation into a more general disposition to loyalty, than had been manifested at any time since the accession of Elizabeth to the throne. No attempt was made by this parliament to forward the new religion. The first effort of the session was a

motion from the court party for a suspension of Poyning's law, which was negated by the country party. These gentlemen, feeling their strength, opposed most of the transmitted bills *: even that for the renewal of the ordinary subsidy of 13s. 4d. for every plough land. They most determinedly rejected a bill for vesting in the Queen the lands of traitors without office or inquisition, and even another for declaring those traitors, who should rebelliously detain any of her castles. The minister of the crown finding the parliament in a disposition to maintain the rights of Ireland against all demands and instructions from England, prorogued it after a short session of contest and opposition †.

1586.

The second session of this parliament was begun on the 26th of April 1586, and with much difficulty was the bill for the attainder of Desmond passed. The grand object of that bill was the forfeiture of his vast possessions, which were then computed at 574,628 Irish acres. In order to prevent this forfeiture, a feoffment from Desmond of all these lands previous to his treason was produced by one of the members, who was a Geraldine. The house was at first embarrassed, and about to acquiesce in the validity of the instrument, when the original articles of an association were produced of a date prior to that of the fraudulent grant,

Second session of parliament, at which several acts passed.

* The Annals of the Four Masters give the names of many of the Milesian families that attended this parliament, which was the first, that extended beyond the pale. They are to be seen in the Appendix to my Historical Review, No. IX.

† Two acts only were passed in this first session, viz. for the attainder of Lord Baltinglass, and reversing that of Lord Walter Delahyde.

1586.



to which the name of this Geraldine was subscribed, and which expressly avowed the opposition of its members to the Queen's government*. The bill then passed without further opposition for the attainder of Desmond, and about a hundred and forty of his accomplices: and all their estates were forfeited. This also gave occasion to another bill for annulling such fraudulent conveyances in future. Some bills of regulation passed, particularly that for the impost and custom of wines, which had been thrown out in the former session.

Elizabeth
institutes
the system
of planting.

In order to extirpate the aboriginal owners of the soil, transpose the property, and alter the very face of the country, Elizabeth now entered upon her favorite scheme of planting or repeopling Munster with an English colony. Letters were written to every county in England, to encourage younger brothers to become undertakers or adventurers in Ireland. Estates were offered in fee at a small acreable rent of three-pence, and in some places two-pence, to commence at the end of three years; and one half only of these rents was to be demanded for the three following. Seven years were to be allowed to complete the plantation. The undertaker for twelve thousand acres was to plant eighty-six families on his estates; those who engaged for less seigniories, were to provide in proportion. None of the native Irish were to be admitted among their

* In order to show the nature and grounds of this insurrection of Desmond, the form of the association is given in the Appendix of my Hist. Rev. No. X, together with a letter from Desmond to Ormond.

tenantry. Amongst other advantages, they were assured, that garrisons should be stationed on their frontiers for their protection, and commissioners appointed to decide their controversies. Sir Christopher Hatton, Sir Walter Raleigh, Sir Thomas Norris, Sir Warham Saintleger, Sir George Bouchier, and others of less note, received ample grants.

1588.

In Connaught another system was pursued, which tended proportionably to sharpen the rancour of the people against the government. The sheriffs and other officers of justice, who had been admitted by the burghers, followed the example of the lord president, and acted not only with rigor, but with impiousness. They entered the several counties with bodies of armed men, pillaging the inhabitants, and rendering the execution of the laws odious and oppressive. Sir Richard Perrot severely reprobated the violent government of Bingham, wisely preferring moderation to terror. Sir William Fitzwilliam, who succeeded the virtuous Perrot, was corrupt in the extreme. Considering himself sent out to that government with a view to reward former services still unrequited, he assumed it as a source of self-remuneration and emolument. In search of imaginary treasures brought into the country by that part of the Spanish armada, which had been driven on the north western coast, he drove O'Rourke of Breffney * into open rebellion. Without any proof, or even charge of guilt,

Irritating
system to
the Irish.

* After some hostilities he was obliged to flee to Scotland, where by the order of the King he was seized and delivered up to Elizabeth; he was afterwards hanged as a traitor in London.

1598.



he committed Sir Owen Mac Toole, and Sir John O'Dogherty to close confinement in the castle of Dublin. These two persons, eminently respected for their loyalty, had rendered signal services to government. Fitzwilliam affected to suspect them of having secreted Spanish treasure: and on bare suspicion, kept them confined without means of justifying themselves by any sort of trial. One was released on the point of death, brought on by the severity of his durance: and the other after two years imprisonment purchased his liberty for an enormous sum of money. This arbitrary treatment of two persons universally revered fed the flame of discontent.

Unjust execution of
Mac Mahon

Mac Mahon, the chief of Monaghan, had surrendered his country holden by Tanistry to the Queen, and taken a regrant from the crown to himself in tail male, with remainder in like manner to his brother Hugh. Having died without issue, Hugh petitioned to be admitted to his inheritance; but immediately upon his arrival in Dublin was committed to prison. Fitzwilliam went into Monaghan in quest of some charge, upon which to impeach the title. He there was informed, that two years before *Mac Mahon* had hostilely entered into a neighbouring district to recover some rent due to him by force of arms. In the unreformed parts of Ireland, these acts were common and unnoticed; but the English law made them treasonable. The unhappy *Mac Mahon* for an offence committed before the law, which made it capital, had been received in his country, was tried, condemned by a jury (said to have

been formed of private soldiers), and executed two days after the charge preferred, to the astonishment of his countrymen. His estate was distributed to Sir Henry Bagnall and other adventurers, and in order to keep up some appearances, a small part of it was allotted to four of the sept of Mac Mahon*.

1595.

The forced submission of some of the Irish was no more than an insidious suspension of hostilities, till a favourable moment for rising in arms should present itself. The insurrection soon became general†; and so precarious did the very existence of the English power appear to government, that the Queen condescended to appoint a commission of Sir Robert Gardiner and Sir Henry Wallop, to conclude a peace with the Irish. This treaty was very solemn, and whilst it was pending, most of the Irish potentates made their complaints for redress

Disastrous
contests
with the
Irish.

* Sir Richard Cox, an author of little credit in most matters affecting the Irish interest, 1 vol. p. 399, says, that it cost Hugh 600 cows to get a promise to be settled in his brother's inheritance, and that the four Mac Mahons, who received grants of parts of these estates, gave large bribes to the deputy. However, adds he, it must be observed, that henceforward the Irish loathed sheriffs and the English neighbourhood, as fearing in time they might all follow the fate of Mac Mahon, and therefore in the great treaty of Dundalk, in January 1595, they all desired to be exempted from garrisons, sheriffs, and other officers.

† The insurrection, however, was not universal: for after the general submission to the Queen that took place in the last parliament, it is remarkable, that no chiefs of the Kavenagha, O'Moores, O'Tools, O'Dempsies, or O'Connors, could ever be

1595. of grievances*. It produced no more than a truce for some months, viz. to the 1st of April, 1596. English historians have generally attributed the failure of this treaty to the unreasonable demands of the Irish, viz. 1. A general liberty of conscience. 2. A general pardon for all. 3. That no garrison, sheriff, or officer should remain in any of their countries (Newry and Carrickfergus excepted). After the recommencement of hostilities, the remainder of Elizabeth's reign was an unchequered scene of war, famine and desolation. The council gave it under their hands, *that it was an universal Irish rebellion to shake off all English government.*

Disastrous
government
of Essex.

Elizabeth, being sensible of the necessity of closing the disasters of Ireland by strong measures, consulted with the young Earl of Essex, whose personal accomplishments and high spirit had for some time gained

brought to join in O'Neil's insurrection, notwithstanding they adhered to the religion of their ancestors, against which such severe laws had been enacted. A great share of the odium of government fell upon Fenton the secretary, who had maintained his situation in a sort of independence of each deputy and governor through several successive administrations. He was supported by the personal favour of the queen, to whom he frequently repaired to lay before her the state of affairs in Ireland, and his own complaints of the different officers, so that he was said to be a moth in the garments of all the deputies of his time. He had established his own consequence in the oppression of the Irish, and abused the confidence of the Queen, by artful and false representations, to continue the same pernicious system of government for his own emolument and security.

* They are to be seen at large in Morryson, p. 113:

an ascendancy over her feelings even at her advanced age, which produced upon her mind an effect widely different from that, which her official confidence in Burleigh, Raleigh, and her other ministers had ever occasioned. They were his envious rivals, and being more aware, than Essex himself was, of the hazardous and unproductive attempt to bring Ireland under complete subjection, encouraged the Queen to second his intemperate ambition to become the conqueror of that kingdom. In this they had double policy. 1. To implicate their rival in a desperate enterprize. 2. To remove from the presence of the Queen the person, who commanded such an extraordinary and absolute ascendancy over the inflexible mind of so despotic a sovereign. He was appointed; and went over to Ireland in vast pomp. Besides a magnificent retinue, he was attended by about 150 persons of distinction, who were devoted to his interests. Although he had under him an army of 20,000 men, (a force never before known to have been sent to that country) yet during his whole government the arms of England were generally unsuccessful. This warfare produced enormities, at which the soul sickens. The produce of that once fertile island no longer sufficed to support its wretched inhabitants. The putrified bodies of the multitudes that fell daily more by famine than the sword, brought on a pestilence, which threatened to clear the land of its aboriginal race. The English, whose shipping supplied them with provisions, suffered less than the natives. The war was at last put an end to by the forced submission of Tyrone, and the dispersion of

1599.

1601.

Death of
Elizabeth
and submis-
sion of Ty-
rone.

some of the chieftains, who had joined him in rebellion. Essex returned without orders; but the manœuvres of his enemies were so deep and powerful as to have accelerated his catastrophe on the scaffold.

The irascible and haughty temper of Elizabeth was so affected by the resistance of Tyrone, and her feelings were so worked upon by the disgrace, trial, and execution of Essex*, all of which she laid to the

* Essex, in communicating with Elizabeth on the desperate situation of Ireland, so far forgot his respect for the Queen, as to have provoked her to strike him in the face; which he so resented, that he put his hand to his sword, declaring he could overlook the insult of a woman, but not of a sovereign. This misunderstanding was patched up: and he set out for Ireland. The disparity of age and condition rendered Elizabeth's passion for Essex the more violent, by how much the less natural and justifiable it was. Keen offence, prostrate repentance, ambition and resentment, intervening diffidence, pride and jealousy followed by relapse, revenge, and final cruelty degraded the actions of the sovereign and her favourite into lovers' quarrels, of which his rivals failed not to take the most tragical advantage. Essex regretted to the Queen, that her services so often requiring his absence, exposed him to the ill offices of his enemies. The Queen in the moment of unguarded sensibility, gave him a ring, with a solemn assurance, that into whatever disgrace he might fall, the sight of the ring would revive the feelings of that moment, and command a favorable hearing. Essex, after having at first sported with the affections, was at last drawn in to defy the powers of the Queen. He was condemned to suffer as a traitor. He then resolved to make the experiment, and commissioned the Countess of Nottingham to deliver the ring to the Queen. The Countess was dissuaded by her husband, an enemy of Essex, from complying. Elizabeth anxiously expected this appeal to her tenderness, and ascribing the neglect of it to pride and obstinacy, signed the

account of her rebellious subjects in Ireland, that her dissolution is generally supposed to have been accelerated from these causes. The Lord Deputy Mountjoy, who succeeded Essex in the government of Ireland, pressed upon Cecil the absolute necessity of an amicable conclusion of the war. But the irritated mind of the Queen interposed insurmountable obstacles: so fluctuating and contradictory were her latter orders respecting Ireland, that all the art and power of Cecil could not render them practicable to the Lord Deputy. He however hazarded at his peril the bold determination of acting up to reason, and upon his own authority, sent articles for a pacification to Tyrone. In the height of his perplexity Mountjoy received a private communication of the Queen's death, of which he prudently availed himself by instantly closing the treaty. The almost immediate knowledge of this event threw the humiliated dynast into despair and rage, from the sense of a precipitate submission, when perseverance for one short hour might have preserved his honour, maintained his reputation with his countrymen, and afforded a favourable opportunity of re-

1603.

warrant for his execution, which took place in the Tower, for fear of a rescue or tumult from the great popularity of Essex. Lady Nottingham soon after fell ill and was visited by the Queen, to whom, on her death bed, she revealed the secret, and prayed forgiveness. Elizabeth, in a paroxysm of rage, shook the dying Countess in her bed, exclaiming "that God might forgive her but she never could." Her anger settled in an obstinate melancholy, that brought on her dissolution, which by some historians is represented as most Christian and heroic, by others weak, petulant, and desperate even to rage.

1603

newing the war, or concluding it upon more honourable terms with the new monarch. But the die was cast : and the once great and formidable Tyrone, now deserted by his followers, in the piteous state of fallen greatness, cast himself on his knees before the Deputy, acknowledged his guilt, implored mercy, and renounced for ever the name of O'Neale, with all his former pretensions to independent sovereignty, entreating to be admitted, through the bounty of his sovereign, to some part of his inheritance for an honourable subsistence. The Deputy pardoned him and his followers, and (with some exceptions) promised him the restoration of his lands and dignity. On these conditions the pacification was ratified. Thus closed a rebellion, evidently brought on, stimulated, and continued by the noxious policy of England's treating the Irish as a divided, separate, and enslaved people. But it was a melancholy solace : The reduction of Ireland to submission, by blood, famine, and pestilence, cost the crown of England no less a sum than 1,198,717 *l.* ; a sum, in those days, enormous.

Character of
the Queen.

Elizabeth possessed all the despotism of her father : she was equally violent and vindictive, but more artful in disguising and managing her passions. During a very arbitrary though prosperous reign of forty-five years, nothing so effectually thwarted her designs, humbled her pride, and ruffled her feelings, as the resistance of the Irish. Unquestionably the pretext of religion * sharpened the animosity of Irish

* In a desperate cause, all means of aid, countenance, and support, are resorted to. O'Nial, at the beginning of his insurrection,

resistance. But she appears to have been actuated less by religious influence against her Irish than her English subjects. In England under Elizabeth * 130. ^{1603.} priests were publicly executed for their religion, numbers were imprisoned, and others sent into banishment by companies of forty, fifty, and seventy at a time. Whereas, during her whole reign in Ireland, we read of no imprisonment, banishment, or execution of any priest for the sake of his religion.

had entered into the war under repeated assurances of succours from the Pope and the King of Spain. He constantly importuned these powers for assistance. He urged the unlawfulness of submitting to Elizabeth, who still remained subject to the excommunication of Pius V. and entreated Clement VIII. to send a nuncio to Ireland; instead of which that Pope wrote a *breve* from Rome to encourage the nation to the recovery of its liberties; a copy of which is to be seen in the Appendix to the Historical Review, No. XI.

Ere we enter upon another reign, it may be not uninteresting to refer to the specific grounds and reasons, why the Irish rose against Elizabeth, and so obstinately persisted in their rebellion. Many of them are collected together in a very strong and sensible memorial submitted to the Queen, by Captain Thomas Lee, a good officer and staunch protestant, in the year 1594. Several of the facts he was eye witness to; others he vouches for the truth of. A manuscript of it is in Trinity College, Dublin; and considerable extracts from it are to be seen in the Appendix to my Historical Review, No. XII. *See also Appendix to Cunningham*

* *Pers.* Discuss. of Bul. Answer, 1612, p. 179.

CHAPTER V.

The Reign of James I.

1603.
 Accession
 of the house
 of Stuart
 to the Irish
 throne

THE accession of the house of Stuart to the throne of England, and consequently to that of Ireland, forms a notable æra in the modern history of that country. The conduct of the Irish to the Stuarts, and their treatment of the Irish, afford a melancholy illustration of the unmanly policy of that family, to court their enemies and neglect their friends. James was regularly proclaimed without opposition in Ireland, as he had been in England. The former he found so reduced by the sword, famine, and pestilence, as to have abandoned all thoughts of that liberty and independence, which was only to be purchased by a continuance of such calamities: and it was scarcely worth retaining by so profuse a drain of blood and treasure, which England was no longer able to supply*.

* Morryson (p. 97) says, that the Queen's charge for Ireland, from the 1st of April, 1600, to the 29th of March, 1602, was 283,673l. 19s. 4½d. Robertson, in his History of Scotland, tells us, that "it was part of James's policy, in order to pave the way to his succession, to waste the vigour of the state of England, by some insensible, yet powerful means. He had his agents in Ireland fomenting Tyrone's war (the Scots daily carrying munition to the rebels) in Ulster; so that the Queen was driven almost to an incredible expense in carrying it on, and her enemies, still

James's first care after his accession was to ingratiate himself with the Irish. Tyrone and Roderick O'Donnel, who in the late commotions had been very active against the government, accompanied Mountjoy to the court of King James, where they were most graciously received: the former was confirmed in all his lands and honours, the latter was created Earl of Tyrconnel. It is evident that James encouraged reports in Ireland, that he should be favourable to the catholics, and they were naturally magnified by the enthusiasm of the Irish. It was even currently believed, that the King himself was of that persuasion*. Mr. Osborne, indeed, says, "it is certain,

1603.

James endeavours to ingratiate himself with the Irish

encouraged by James's secret assistance and promises." Of this, Elizabeth complained to James in a letter, in 1599, remonstrating with him upon the impolicy of abetting what she termed the dangerous party, and failing his own (*Saund. King James*). No one therefore could be more alive to the dangers of the Irish persisting in rebellion, than King James. He could not have forgotten, that he had underhand favoured Irish rebellions, and courted the catholic powers of the continent with specious promises of being well disposed to the religion of his mother, in order to pave his way to the English throne.

* It is reported of James, that he sent a letter, under his own hand and seal, to Pope Clement the VIIIth, assuring his holiness, that it was his Majesty's intention to become a Roman catholic whenever he should ascend the English throne. In fact, James objected not to any tenets of the Roman catholic faith; but only to the abusive encroachments of the spiritual over the civil power; for he said in his premonition (*James's Works*, ed. 1616, p. 306): "For myself (if that were yet the question) I would with all my heart give my consent, that the Bishop of Rome should have the first seate. I being a western King, would goe with the patriarch of

1603. that the promise King James made to the Roman catholics, was registered, and amounted so high at least as a toleration of their religion." In the warmth of these hopes and expectations, they no longer considered it necessary to confine their religious worship to privacy: in many parts of Leinster, and more particularly of Munster, they openly performed the divine service and other religious ceremonies, in the full external form of the Roman ritual.

Mountjoy
marches in-
to Munster
to check the
open exer-
cise of reli-
gion.

Mountjoy marched an armed force into Munster, in order to check this open defiance of the law. At Waterford he found the town gates shut against him: the citizens pleaded, that by a charter of King John they were exempted from quartering soldiers; but Mountjoy instantly replied, that with the sword of King James he would cut to pieces the charter of King John; level their city with the ground, and strew salt upon its ruins. The menace was effectual: Mountjoy entered, and the citizens were terrified into submission. From this conduct of the deputy, the other cities of Munster, which had declared for the free and public exercise of the Roman catholic religion, were intimidated into a like compliance with the laws*.

the West. And for his temporall principalitie over the signory of Rome, I doe not quarrell it neither: let him in God's name be *primus episcopus inter omnes episcopos, et princeps episcoporum*; so it be no otherwise, but as Peter was *princeps apostolorum*."

* This public exercise of the catholic religion ought not to be considered as open and deliberate treason. We have before observed, that the acts of Elizabeth, as well as the other acts of the pale parliament were not obeyed twenty miles from Dublin: and even within the pale, the penal laws of Elizabeth had not been

For settling the peace and quieting the minds of the nation, and for securing their persons and property from the effects of the law, which most of them had incurred in some way or other during the general confusion, an act of state, called An Act of Oblivion and Indemnity, was published by proclamation under the great seal, by which all offences against the crown, and all particular trespasses between subject and subject, were, to all such as would come in to the justices of assize, by a certain day, and claim the

1605.

Act of oblivion and indemnity,

executed for the last forty years. All the Irish annalists affirm that the Statute of Uniformity (2 Eliz.) was surreptitiously obtained by the art of Stanyhurst, the then speaker; who, at an unusual hour, and on an unexpected day, procured the bill to be passed by the friends to reform, in the absence of those, who were expected to oppose it. They soon after protested against the act of this smuggled convention; and the Lord Lieutenant assured them with oaths and protestations, that the penalties of that act should never be inflicted, which they believing, suffered it to remain without further opposition. In fact, that law was never executed, during the remainder of Queen Elizabeth's reign, (*Vide Analect. Sacr.* p. 431.) Other causes may with greater plausibility be assigned for the non-execution of the penal laws, during the reign of Elizabeth, in Ireland; while hundreds were put to death, and thousands suffered in their persons and fortunes under similar laws in England. Those within the pale were equally tenacious of their ancient faith, as those without it. The Queen's army was full of native Irish, all or most of whom then were catholic. And *Merryson* (p. 120) asserts, that one half of that gallant army under Lord Mountjoy, which so successfully attacked and at last entirely defeated Tyrone, was Irish; nor did their having less pay than the English or their being exposed to endure the brunt of every action lessen their zeal or activity in the service.

1605. benefit of that act, pardoned, remitted, and utterly extinguished, never to be revived or called in question. And by the same proclamation, all the Irish who had hitherto received no defence or protection from the crown, having been entirely subjected to their respective chieftains, were admitted into his Majesty's immediate protection. "This," says Sir John Davies *, "bred such comfort and security in the hearts of all men, as thereupon ensued the calmest and most universal peace, that ever was seen in Ireland." So true has it at all times been, that mildness and liberality towards the Irish have ever been required with their submissiveness, fidelity, and attachment †,

* Disc. p. 262.

† In answer to many severe and unjust reflections formerly and recently made upon the lawless ferocity and intractability of the Irish, I shall cite the authority of Sir John Davies, who certainly from his official situation of Attorney General, had a fair opportunity of knowing them. (Disc. p. 267.) "Again these circuits of justice did (upon the ende of the warre) more terrifie the loose and idle personnes then the execution of the martial law, though it were more quick and suddaine: and in a short time after did so c'eere the kingdome of theeves and other capitall offenders, as I dare affirme, that for the space of five years last past, there have not bin found so manie malefactors worthy of death in all the six circuits of this realme (which is now divided into thirty-two shires at large), as in one circuit of six shires, namely the western circuit in England. For the troth is, that in time of peace the Irish are more fearful to offend the law, than the English or any other nation whatsoever." (And p. 283.) "In which condition of subjectes, they will gladly continue without defection or adhering to any other lord or king, as long as they may be *protected* and *justly* governed without *oppression* on the one side, or *impunity*

James, in order more effectually to acquire the supreme and full dominion both of the Irish and their property, published a proclamation, which is usually called the commission of grace, for securing the subjects of Ireland against all claims of the crown. The chief governor was thereby empowered to accept the surrenders of those Irish lords, who still held their estates or possessions by the old tenures of Tannestry and Gavelkind, and to regrant them in fee simple according to the English law: thus converting the estates for life of the chieftains into estates in fee simple*.

1605
The commission of Grace.

James in his religious principles was strictly neither a protestant nor a catholic: and he disliked and dreaded the puritans. He ever cherished a filial reverence and affection for his mother; and retained an indelible sense of, though he wanted firmness to avenge, the injuries and indignities she had suffered. Vainly assuming the *jus divinum* to regal irresponsibility, this pedantic monarch had mounted the baseless pinnacle of overstretched prerogative; and whilst he indulged in this visionary security, he permitted himself to be carried down with every stream of flattery, fear, or me-

James afraid of the puritan ascendancy

on the other. For there is no nation of people under the sunne, that doth love equal and indifferent justice better than the Irish; or will rest better satisfied with the execution thereof, though it be against themselves; so as they may have the benefit and protection of the law, when upon just causes they do desire it."

* The legal operation and political purposes of these surrenders and grants are set forth in my Historical Review, Vol. I. p. 100.

1605.

nace, as they successively flowed in upon him. As a Stuart, he was ever forward in sacrificing his friend to the fear of his enemy. At this time the puritan party had acquired, both in the church and state * of Ireland a predominant ascendancy; and from that moment they were preparing to get up that eventful

* Lord deputy Chichester, afterwards created Baron Belfast, had been the pupil of the famous Cartwright, who was so violent an opposer of the church establishment, that in writing to archbishop Whitgift he used these strong expressions: "Certain of the things we (the dissenters) stand upon are such, that if every hair of our heads were a life, we ought to afford them for the defence of them." And Sir George Paul, in the life of this archbishop (p. 47), gives us, by way of sample, a part of the constant public prayer of this Cartwright before his sermons: "Because they, (meaning the bishops) which ought to be pillars of the church, do band themselves against Christ and his truth, therefore, O Lord, give us grace and power as one man to set ourselves against them." At this time the general body of the reformed clergy in Ireland was puritan; the most eminent of whom for learning was Usher, then provost of Trinity College, Dublin, and afterwards archbishop of Armagh, who by his management and contrivance procured the whole doctrine of Calvin to be received as the public belief of the church of Ireland, and ratified by Chichester in the King's name. Not only the famous Lambeth articles concerning predestination, grace, and justifying faith, sent down as a standard of doctrine to Cambridge, but immediately suppressed by Queen Elizabeth, and afterwards disapproved and rejected by King James, when proposed to him by Dr. Reynolds in the conference of Hampton Court, but also several particular fancies and notions of his own were incorporated, says Carte (*Orm.* 1 vol. p. 73), into the Articles of the Church of Ireland, and by his credit approved of in convocation, and afterwards confirmed by the Lord Deputy Chichester.

tragedy, which closed in the catastrophe of the throne, altars, and constitution. Their first act was to express indignation at the relaxations, favour, and countenance shewn to the catholics. The immediate effect of which was a formal promulgation of the act of conformity (2 Eliz.) exemplified under the great seal; which, as before observed, had for forty years been a dead letter. The King's proclamation for the strict observance of it was annexed to the exemplification, and solemnly published throughout the nation*. This measure was aggravated by the insulting humiliation of certain commissions issued in consequence of the proclamation, by which the catholics of condition were appointed inquisitors to watch and inform against those of their own communion, who did not frequent the protestant churches; by neglect of which, they were subjected to fine and imprisonment†. Leland observes, that this measure *instead of terrifying the delinquents enraged them*. ‡ Eighteen of the most eminent of the city were summoned to the court of Castle Chamber, censured, fined, and committed pri-

* This proclamation, of the 4th of July, 1605, strongly proves the grounds, which the catholics had for rejoicing at the accession of James I. It imported, that his Majesty had been informed, that his subjects of Ireland had been deceived by a false report, that he was disposed to allow them liberty of conscience, and a free choice of their religion: wherefore he declared, that he would not admit any such liberty of conscience, as they were made to expect; and he strictly enjoined all his subjects to frequent their respective churches, and to comply minutely with the requisitions of the Act of Uniformity, &c.

† Anal. Sacr. p. 25.

‡ Harris's History of Dublin; p. 323.

1605. }
soners to the castle during pleasure. The old families of the Pale remonstrated against the illegality of these proceedings: for by the statute of Elizabeth, the crime of recusancy had its punishment ascertained, and any extension of the penalty beyond the letter of the statute was illegal and unconstitutional. Their remonstrance was presented to the council by an unusual concourse of those, who were interested in the event. The chief of the petitioners were instantly committed to gaol; and Sir Patrick Barnwall, their great agent, was, by the King's command, soon after sent over to England in custody, and there committed to the Tower of London.

Sham rebellion of Tyrone and Tyrconnel.

These proceedings naturally produced general rancour and distrust, which Chichester fomented by his intemperate severity, in order to prepare the foundation of the sham plot, of which such advantage was afterwards taken. An anonymous letter was dropped in the privy council chamber, intimating a traitorous scheme of rebellion, formed by the Earls of Tyrone, and other lords and gentlemen of the north, in defence of the Catholic religion*. Certain it is, that Tyrone

* At this distant period the contradictory accounts of this insurrection by cotemporary authors, together with a total failure of proof of any overt act, leave little room to doubt its non-existence. Jones, bishop of Meath, who had formerly been scout-master general to Cromwell's army, has given this account of the anonymous letter, which Carleton, bishop of Chichester, wholly omits, and he says he had his account from a report of the bishop of Derry. The pretended letter is to be seen in the Appendix, No. XIII. to my Historical Review.

and Tyrconnel fled the country, and were with ^{1608.} some other fugitives of inferior note, attainted of high treason. The consequence was the forfeiture of all their vast estates to the crown *. These and

* Some historians attribute the flight of these noblemen to a consciousness of guilt, others to their persuasion, that St. Laurence would follow them up to conviction by the same treachery and perjury, with which he had brought on their accusation. Dr. Anderson in his *Royal Genealogies*, p. 786, dedicated to the Prince of Wales in 1736, says, " Artful Cecil employed one St. Laurence to entrap the earls of Tyrone and Tyrconnel, the lord Delvin, and other Irish chiefs into a sham plot, which had no evidence but his. But those chiefs being basely informed, that witnesses were to be hired against them, foolishly fled from Dublin, and so taking guilt upon them, they were declared rebels, and six entire counties in Ulster were at once forfeited to the crown, which was what their enemies wanted." That this St. Laurence was a fit instrument for such a design is clear, from what Camden relates of him (*Eliz.* 741) viz. that he offered to murder Lord Grey de Wilton and Sir Thomas Gerald, to prevent their conveying reports of Essex to the Queen; which bloody service Essex rejected with indignation. No history whatever mentions any symptoms of rising in the North at this time. The King, from an ill-judged redundancy of caution, published a proclamation (which follows in my Appendix, No. XIV.), by which he pledged himself thereafter to make it appear to the world as clear as the sun by evident proof, that the only ground of these earls' departure was their own knowledge and terror of guilt. These proofs have never yet been produced. And the act of parliament (11, 12, and 13 Jac. c. iv.) by which the attainders were confirmed, makes no reference to them; but barely recites, that they with several others were attainted, as by sundrie inquisitions remaining of record may appear. This affected brevity was little congenial with the turgid spirit and style of the pedantic James: and widely dissimilar from Elizabeth's act of attainder of O'Nial, which displays the tale of Gurmonde.

1608.



some other estates, forfeited by Sir Cahir O'Dogherty and his adherents, who afterwards actually were for about five months in rebellion, comprised almost the whole six northern counties of Cavan, Fermanagh, Armagh, Derry, Tyrone, and Tyrconnel (now called Donegal).

James undertakes his favourite system of plantations.

From that period King James entered upon his favorite scheme of forming a plantation for the avowed purpose of excluding the old inhabitants, and introducing the new religion *. The lands were accordingly parcelled out amongst the adventurers, who flocked thither from England and Scotland. The latter were the more numerous, and carried with them the principles and discipline of Presbyterianism ! This new settlement or colony was put under particular regulations, all calculated to support and strengthen the Protestant religion. The most opulent adventurers in this speculation were the citizens of London † :

* Although the rebellion of Sir Cahir O'Dogherty was confined to the district of Innishowen, yet did James ever affect to consider the whole Irish nation as rebels, as he said in his speech to Parliament, in 1609 ; “ As for Ireland, ye all well know how uncertain my charges are ever there, that people being so easily stirred, partly through the barbarity and want of civilitie, and partly through their corruption in religion, to break forth in rebellions.”

† Upon a loose survey, these forfeited lands were computed to comprise 511,456 Irish acres, in the whole ; of which, according to Cox, the Londoners received 209,800 acres. That author says, that in the book which was printed for the better direction of the settlers, it was specially mentioned, *that they should not suffer any labourer, that would not take the oath of supremacy, to dwell upon their land.*

they obtained a large tract of land on the lower part of the river Ban in the vicinity of Derry, which town they rebuilt and called Londonderry. The profuse grant of the whole territory of Innishowen with all the other lands of Sir Cahir O'Dogherty to Sir Arthur Chichester, the adviser of this plantation, tended to estrange the affections of the Irish from their sovereign, and his servants. Sir John Davies has too officiously complimented his sovereign upon this period of his reign, * "This bred such comfort and security in the hearts of all men, as thereupon ensued the calmest and most universal peace that ever was seen in Ireland." † Leland, however, upon the authority of Carte and Chichester's own letters, gives a widely different view of the internal state and spirit of the Irish at this period. ‡ "The reformed looked with abhorrence on the par-^{1610.}tizans of idolatry, and the imps of Antichrist; the Romanists with equal rancour inveighed against heresy and apostacy, the blind ministers of Satan and children of perdition."

To consider James, says Hume §, in a more ad-
Hume's misrepresentation of James.

* Sir John Davies has written with more truth and impartiality than any cotemporary English author. Some degree of partiality must however be allowed on matters, in which he was consulted. Sir Francis Bacon was also advised with; but his advice was not followed. Sir John Davies, through his historical relations, has studiously avoided any mention of religion; well knowing how tender the Irish were upon that subject.

† 2 Lel. p. 439, Carte Orm. Chich. letters, mst. Trin. Col. Dub.

‡ 2 Lel. P. 441.

§ Historical reign of that Monarch.

1613. { vantageous light, we must take a view of him as the legislator of Ireland. He frequently boasts of the management of Ireland as his master-piece: and it will appear; adds this author, upon enquiry, that his vanity in this particular was not altogether without foundation. The short sketch, with which that historian follows up this observation, is the most false, ignorant, and insulting representation of the Irish nation, to be found in any modern author of respectability.

James convenes a parliament.

Twenty-seven years had elapsed since a parliament had been convened in Ireland, when James deemed it necessary to call one for the specious purposes of supporting the plantation lately made, removing grievances, repressing discontents, and securing the administration against all attempts of turbulence and disaffection. The progress of the reformation in Ireland under James, although much more rapid than under Elizabeth, did not yet answer the views of government. Chichester had convinced the king of the necessity of establishing a *Protestant ascendancy* in the Irish parliament, and pledged himself that, with a plenitude of power to make the previous arrangements, he would, in defiance of numbers, property, and influence in the country, secure it in both houses. So early was the doctrine of managing parliament brought to practical efficiency.

Court and country parties in parliament.

Protestants and Catholics were arrayed against each other, according to what in modern parliamentary language would be termed the court and country party. The manœuvre of government could not be

kept secret from the nation. The Catholics took the alarm, that it was the design of government to force upon them some additional grievances, especially as it had not vouchsafed, according to Poyning's law, to make any previous communication of the design of summoning the parliament, or of the laws intended to be enacted therein. Accordingly six of the principal lords of the Pale addressed a letter to the king, strongly expressive of their apprehensions, and plainly pointing out to him the consequences, which this rigorous system of government to punish the national adherence to their ancient faith would inevitably produce*. The style of this letter was too free and independent for James's inflated notions of the royal prerogative†. He pronounced it to be a rash and insolent interference with his authority.

1613.

The lord deputy continued to increase the number of the new boroughs, for which court candidates were returned, until he had secured a majority of that party. Forty new boroughs were created, of which several were not incorporated till after the writs had issued. Violent altercations attended the meeting of this parliament, not only upon the election of Sir John Davies for the speaker of the House of Commons, in opposi-

Mode of
acquiring
the protest-
ant ascend-
ancy.

* That letter is to be seen in the Appendix to my Historical Review, No. XV.

† In his speech to parliament, 1609, he told them, "I would wish you to be careful to avoide three things in the matter of greevance. 1st, That you doe not meddle with the maine points of government, that is my craft, *tractent fabrilis fabri*; to meddle with that were to lesson me." James's Works, *fo. ed. p.* 537.

1613. tion to Sir John Everard ("a recusant," says Leland, "of respectable character, who had been a justice of the King's Bench, and on resigning this station, rather than take the oaths, was indulged with a pension,") but also on account of the illegality of many of the returns of the court members, which the country party vehemently protested against. Two hundred and thirty-two members had been returned: six were absent: of the remainder one hundred and twenty-five were protestants; and one hundred and one formed the recusant party. The upper house consisted of sixteen temporal barons, twenty-five protestant prelates, five viscounts, and four earls, of which a considerable number, says Leland, were friends to the administration*.

Secession
of the ca-
tholic party
from par-
liament.

The catholic party was so provoked at this factious majority, that for a time they seceded from parliament; and were only induced to resume their seats by the assurances of the lord deputy, that no other bill should for the present be propounded, than that for recognizing the king's title. The parliament was prorogued, to give time for the violence of passion on both sides to abate. In the mean while, the catholic party dispatched agents to lay their grievances at the feet of their sovereign. The deputy also sent his agents to counteract their efforts†. Two of the catholic

* The majority of Protestant members returned to this parliament is very surprising, considering how very few of the Irish had then given into the reformation. Geoghegan asserts, that there were not sixty down to the reign of James I.

† The catholic agents were, the lords Gormanstown and Fer-

agents were, immediately on their arrival, committed ^{1613.} prisoners, one to the Tower, the other to the Fleet. James received the petition of their associates in a most ungracious manner, and, in violation of the independent rights of the Irish parliament, referred the final determination of it to the English privy council. The result of this appeal to the sovereign was a most * disgraceful dismissal of the catholic agents ; a rejection of their demands ; the imprisonment of Sir James Gough, on his return to Ireland, for boasting of the king's promise to grant redress, and the remuneration of Chichester by fresh grants. Chichester thus supported by the king found little difficulty in passing every act, as it was proposed,

moy, Sir James Gough, Hussey, Lutterel, and Talbot. The lord deputy's were, the earl of Thomond, Sir John Denham, the chief justice of the King's Bench, and Sir Oliver St. John.

* Whoever wishes to form a candid opinion of the conduct of James, is referred to the authentic documents, which are to be found in the Appendix to my Historical Review, Nos. XVI. and XVII. being the remonstrance of divers lords of the Pale to the King concerning the parliament ; and the king's speech to the lords of the council before the Irish agents. This latter is a curious specimen of the pedantic raillery of James to the deputies representing the bulk of his Irish subjects. Amongst other quaint taunts, he calls them *a body without a head : a headless body ; you would be afraid to meet such a body in the streets : a body without a head, to speak.---Nay half a body---What a monster was this---a very bug-bear !---and---what is it to you whether I make many or few boroughs. My council may consider the fitness, if I require it ; but if I made 40 noblemen, and 400 boroughs---the more the merrier---the fewer the better cheer.* And again : *You that are of a contrary opinion must not look to be the law-makers : you are but half subjects, and should have but half privileges.*

1616. by means of his majority. Yet he found it prudent, in this heat of parties, to drop a bill for the banishment of the whole catholic clergy, and other penal bills against the catholics, which had been prepared and were intended to have been brought forward.

Extension
of planta-
tions.

James's passion for plantations induced him to extend them to other parts of the kingdom. He appointed a commission of enquiry to scrutinize the titles and determine the rights of all the lands in Leinster and the adjoining districts. Such rapid progress did these commissioners of defective titles make in their mission, that in a short time James deemed himself entitled to make a distribution of 385,000 acres in those counties. These were apportioned to English settlers and to some few of the natives, under regulations nearly similar to those, by which he had settled the colony in Ulster. In executing this scheme, little regard was had to the plainest dictates of justice. Old obsolete claims were received even as far back as the reign of Henry II.: and advantage was taken of the most trivial flaws and minute informalities. In Connaught, immense estates were declared forfeited to the crown, because the recent grants made to the proprietors upon their surrenders of them to James had been neglected to be inrolled by the clerks in chancery, although the new grantees had paid above 3000 *l.* into their hands for the inrolments, and these clerks alone could make them. Perjury, fraud, and the most infamous acts of deceit were successfully practised by rapacious adventurers and informers:

and Leland*, who gives an accurate detail of these enormities, refers to authentic proofs of the most iniquitous practices of hardened cruelty, of vile perjury, and scandalous subornation employed to despoil the fair and unoffending proprietor of his inheritance. Thus was every man's possession precarious and doubtful; and to complete the measure of abuse, the juries, who refused to find a title in the crown, were censured and fined in the castle-chamber.

1616.

The remainder of James's reign was an uninterrupted scene of vexatious oppression of the recusants, grievous extortions of the soldiery and their officers† upon the people, the execution of martial law in time of peace, the abusive exactions of the clergy and ecclesiastical courts, the unconstitutional interference of the privy council and castle-chamber in causes, which ought to have been determined by common law, the invasion of property in the different plantations, and extreme rigour in executing the penal laws. Such were the means, by which James estranged the affections of his Irish subjects from the English government, reduced them to want and misery, and consequently predisposed them to rise against their oppressors,

Mischievous effects of James's policy.

* 2 Lel. p. 470.

† Who, as Leland observes, were privy counsellors, and men of great property and influence, too powerful to be complained of for any grievance occasioned by their soldiers, and too deeply engaged in one common interest to call each other to account. P. 471.

1625. whenever the opportunity should present itself of
doing it with effect. A woeful legacy to his unfortunate successor ! James died in the 59th year of his age, on the 27th of March, 1625, after having been King of Ireland about 22 years.

CHAPTER VI.

The Reign of Charles I.

THE reign of Charles the First is the part of Irish history, which has been the most misrepresented by cotemporary and modern historians*. The quick sensibility of the national character was strongly marked in the excess of their joy at his accession. They looked up with confidence to the young monarch, at least for a toleration of their religion: and at the beginning of his reign they practised it with more publicity, than they had in that of his father. This mildness of go-

1625.

Charles begins his reign with insincerity to the Irish.

* Of all the English writers upon the civil wars of Ireland, Dr. Warner is the most to be relied on. He says, "that they are all so inaccurate, partial, and uninformed, that whoever contents himself with the accounts, that he meets with in any of our Histories of England (*not one excepted*), may be said to know little of it." And referring particularly to Mr. Hume's gross infidelity in representing the conduct of Charles I. towards his Irish subjects, he says (p. 359), "To such miserable shifts are able men reduced, when they write to please a party, or to support a character without regard to truth! It is but very little that Mr. Hume hath said, on this critical part of King Charles's reign; but unless he could have said something much more to the purpose than he hath said, he had better have taken the way Lord Clarendon took, and have said nothing at all." The whole of Mr. Hume's representation of the state of Ireland under this Monarch is an impassioned essay of fanciful composition, without even an attempt at historical narrative of the leading features of Charles's reign over Ireland.

1625. vernment, new to the Irish, was but of short duration. Scarcely had Charles commenced his inauspicious reign, when he plunged into that system of insincerity, which precipitated his ruin. His Irish Catholic subjects were the first unfortunate victims of this ill-fated policy of the Stuarts. His first deputy, Lord Faulkland, was a man of more rectitude than ability, courting rather than terrifying the obnoxious party. His instructions were favorable to the Catholic, and he faithfully pursued them. The Puritans resented his conduct, and loudly complained*. The Catholics were more than prudently elated, and in the overflowing of their gratitude, offered to keep in pay, at their own charge, a constant body of 5000 infantry and 500 horse, for the service of his Majesty. The protestants, jealous of the power, that this might place either in the hands of the Catholics or the crown, availed themselves of the fanatic spirit of the day, and in the genuine cant of puritanism, rejected the offer as the ungodly price of idolatry and superstition†.

* Dr. Warner, in his introduction observes, that the conduct of Charles towards his Irish subjects, will instruct princes to consult the interest and inclination of their subjects, and not to govern by illegal and despotic power. It will instruct the ministers of princes, that their own passions, faction, and ill-humour, will produce as much mischief to the public peace and security of their master, as the most open villainy. It will instruct the people not to suffer and assist the folly, the frowardness, the pride and ambition of particular persons to govern the public understanding.

† Usher, at the head of the prevailing party of the clergy, subscribed a declaration, which is to be seen in the App. No. XVIII. to my Hist. Rev. It was read before the state in Christ Church,

Faulkland advised the confederates to send over agents to the King ; and they accordingly waited upon his Majesty, with an offer of a voluntary contribution of 120,000*l.* to be paid in three years by quarterly instalments, for which the King published by proclamation what is usually called his Graces, and pledged his royal word for their afterwards being confirmed by parliament. They were fifty-one in number. Some of the more important were, that subjects should be confirmed in their titles by limiting the claims of the crown to sixty years : that recusants might sue out their liveries, *ouster les mains*, and other grants from the courts of wards : that Catholic barristers might plead for five years without the oath of supremacy. The bounty was received, and the Proclamation of Graces issued : but was ill observed, and never confirmed by parliament.

1629.

Faulkland advises the confederates to make a further tender to the king.

Through the influence of the Puritan party Faulkland was recalled, and the administration entrusted to two lords justices, Viscount Ely, the chancellor, and the Earl of Cork, the lord high treasurer, who without any instructions from the King, enforced with great severity the penalties of the second of Elizabeth. They were informed, that this severity was neither acceptable to the King, nor consistent with his interests in Ireland. Charles, however, quickly sacrificed his Ca-

Faulkland recalled, and terrorism begins.

Dublin, by Downham, bishop of Derry, upon whom it had so powerful an effect, that the offer was rejected with indignation ; and was soon after followed up by a proclamation most strictly commanding the forbearance of the exercise of Popish rites and ceremonies.

1629.

tholic subjects to his enemies, and the system of terrorism commenced. The archbishop, and the chief magistrate of Dublin, at the head of a file of musqueteers, entered the Catholic chapel in Cook Street, in time of divine service; seized the priest in his vestments at the altar, hewed down the crucifix, and carried off all the sacred utensils and ornaments. Several of the congregation pursued the assailants with stones, and rescued their clergyman. The representation of this incident to the English council produced an immediate order, which was carried into effect, for seizing fifteen religious houses to the King's use, and assigning a newly-established seminary in Dublin to the university. The most rigorous execution of the penal laws was extended to every part of the kingdom: and the King gave into the advice of the lords justices, that the army should be provided for out of the weekly fines to be imposed upon the Catholics, for absenting themselves from the established worship*. "We approve well," said the King in his answer, "that this business, as you desire, may be presently put into such a state, as that the money, which shall by that means grow due unto us, may be ready to be levied by Michaelmas next." As long as the lords justices continued in the administration of Ireland, such presentments were made with extreme rigor, to the great grievance of the recusants, and comparatively small emolument of the crown: heavy fines also were imposed upon such juries as refused to find them.

The severity of the lords justices was far exceeded

* Lord Strafford's State Letters, Vol. II. fol. 91.

by that of their successor Lord Wentworth, better known under his superior title of Earl of Strafford, who continued lord deputy from the year 1633, to the year 1641. The effect which Strafford's administration had in producing the grand rebellion, and the difference of the English and Irish writers thereupon, becomes a most important part of Irish history *.

1633.

Commencement of Strafford's government.

This nobleman's desertion of the popular cause in England had rendered him odious to a party powerful, implacable, subtle, and indefatigable. Their rancour pursued him into Ireland : they watched his conduct strictly, and interpreted his actions severely. He assumed his government with a contemptuous dislike of the country, and with a mind bent on rendering it profitable to his master. Hence he inferred the necessity of that severe administration, which suited his native austerity. Ireland he considered as a conquered kingdom in the strictest sense. He avowed and defended that opinion, under all the terrors of impeachment, when it was charged against him as a traitorous principle; maintaining, therefore, that Irish subjects had without distinction forfeited the rights of men and citizens.

Strafford obnoxious to the popular party.

Wentworth began to display his duplicity upon the Catholics of Ireland, (they were then in the proportion of above one hundred to one Protestant) even before he had taken possession of his government. For political reasons †, he preferred any mode of

Strafford's duplicity to the Catholics before he arrives in Ireland.

* Vid. my Historical Review, 1 vol, p. 118, and seq.

† " If, says he, it took that good effect, for which it was intended, which was to bring the Irish to a conformity in religion,

1639.

taxation to that of raising the necessary levies upon the consciences of the natives. In order, therefore, to ensure to his royal master the continuance of the voluntary contribution for one year longer, he tells us * that "he sent a private messenger of his own to Ireland, who was himself a Catholic, with instructions to invite them to make an offer to his Majesty, of half a subsidy to be paid the next year; upon condition that all further prosecution upon the statute of the 2d Elizabeth, might be respited till his coming over. The instrument I employed, (says he) knows no other, but that the resolution of the state here is set upon that course, and that I do this privately in favor, and well wishing to divert the present storm, which else would fall heavy upon them all, being framed and executed by the Earl of Cork, which makes the man labour in good earnest."

Haughti-
ness of
Strafford.

The haughtiness of the deputy manifested itself even to his own party on his first landing: he omitted to summon several members of the council, and cavalierly dismissed the others, after he had kept them waiting for above two hours; and when on the following day they shewed symptoms of displeasure at the continuance of the contribution, he superciliously assured them, that no necessity induced him to take them in council on that business: for that rather than fail, he would upon the peril of his head, subsist the King's

it would come to nothing, and so would prove a covering narrower than a man could wrap himself in." St. Let. 1 vol. 76.

* St. Let. 1 vol. 212.

army without their help*. The menace had its effect : and he procured a written promise for the next year's contribution from the Protestants, as it had that year proceeded from the Catholics, who ought not, said he tauntingly, to be permitted to be more forward than the Protestants in their chearfulness and readiness to serve the King†. His proposal‡ to call a parliament was eagerly received, which they imagined would supersede the necessity of any further contribution ; so horribly afraid, says his lordship, were they that the contribution money would be set as an annual charge upon their inheritances, that they would redeem it at any rate.

1633.


For the purpose of securing a Protestant majority in parliament, the new lord deputy, by his own account of it to Secretary Coke §, says, " he sent out with the writs of summons about 100 letters in recommendation of quiet and governable men. The lower house," says he, " should be so composed, that neither the recusants, nor yet the Protestants, should appear considerably one more than the other : holding them as much as might be in an equal balance, as being thus easier to govern." And for varying the balance of votes according to the exigency

How Strafford managed the parliament.

* *i. e.* by free quarters. The Irish had frequently complained of the abuses of the military, which will appear from a report made in the preceding reign by the commissioners appointed by James to enquire into grievances, for which see my App. No. XIX. to vol. i. of Hist. Rev. Protection against this abuse was one of the graces recently purchased.

† St. Let. p. 98. ‡ *Ib.* p. 99. § St. Let. 1 vol. p. 259.

1634. of circumstances, this wary deputy apprises us of the nature of the *corps de reserve*, which he kept at command. "I shall labour to make as many captains and officers burgesses in this parliament as I possibly can, who having immediate dependance upon the crown, may always sway the business between the two parties which way they please." When the Earl of Fingal represented to him, that it had ever been usual for the lords of the Pale to be consulted concerning the parliament, and the matters to be therein propounded, he told this nobleman that, "assuredly his Majesty would reject with scorn all such foreign instructors: that the King's own councils were sufficient to govern his own affairs and people, without borrowing from any private man whatsoever *."

The meeting of the first parliament under Charles.

When the parliament had met, the lord deputy in his speech informed them, "that his Majesty expected 100,000*l.* debt to be discharged, and 20,000*l.* a year constant and standing revenue, to be set apart for the payment of the army: and that his Majesty intended to have two sessions of that parliament, the one for himself, the other for them: so as if they without conditions supplied the King in this, they might be sure his Majesty would go along with them in the next meeting, through all the expressions of a gracious and good King." The King combined with his deputy in deceiving his Irish subjects. It was determined at all events to break through the promise of the proclaimed graces. The King under this impres-

* St. Let. 1 vol. p. 247.

sion assured his deputy, "that it would not be worse for him, though that parliament's obstinacy should make him break with them; for I fear, says his Majesty, that they have some grounds to demand more than it is fit for me to give." The deputy insidiously assured the parliament, that in case of their unconditional grant of the supplies, the King would confirm the promised graces; for surely, said he, "so great a meanness cannot enter your hearts, as once to suspect his Majesty's gracious regards of you, and performance with you, where you affie yourselves upon his grace." Thus he not only advised the King to break his solemn promise, but engaged to take upon himself all the obloquy, infamy, and danger of this breach of faith with the nation; and for this good service the King soon after thanked him in a letter written in his own hand *.

1634.

* "WENTWORTH,

Before I answer any of your particular letters to me, I must tell you, that your last dispatch has given me a great deal of contentment, and especially for the keeping off the envy of a necessary negative from me of those unreasonable graces that people expected from me." St. Let. 1 vol. p. 331.

That it was the concerted and settled plan, both of Charles and his deputy, to deceive and defraud the Irish, who had upon the faith of the King, purchased these graces for 120,000*l.* is not only evident from their own words, but is further proved by the admission of our own historians. Carte (Orm. p. 61.) says, "he was not without apprehension, that the parliament might press for a confirmation of all the graces given the 24th of May, 1628, in instruction to Lord Faulkland; many of which, if established by a law, would not sort either with his Majesty's present profit, (for that of limiting the title of the crown to sixty years would alone

1634:
 Strafford's
 notorious
 falsehoods.

The commons, ensnared by these false promises, voted six entire subsidies, amounting to 240,000*l.* a sum far exceeding the deputy's most sanguine expectations. In return they drew up a remonstrance concerning his Majesty's promised graces, particularly in relation to the enquiry into defective titles, and deputed Sir George Radcliffe, master of the rolls, Sir James Ware, and nine other members, to present it to the deputy. Soon after the meeting of the second session of this parliament, (12th of November 1634) the commons were ordered into the presence chamber, and there contemptuously informed, that their request* never had been sent over by him; that passing this act to pre-

lose him 20,000*l.* per annum) or with the power requisite to be upheld for the future in the kingdom." Vide Rushw. 2 vol. p. 210. Strafford from his own avowal was a fit instrument for such perfidious duplicity. He says, in a letter to his friend Laud, which the publisher of his state letters has thought proper to suppress, of the 1st of October 1633. "*I am in the hands of my measure to be moulded to honour or dishonour, as shall be to his good pleasure, without having whereon to complain.*"

* This assertion was a direct falsehood; for he had said in a letter to Coke of the 6th of October 1634, 1 vol. p. 304. "I now transmit, here inclosed, the advice of this council here upon the graces, which I promised in my last letters unto you. If I mistake not myself, they will be of good use to his Majesty in framing the answer to the petition of the lower house, which I herewith also send you; for now the ground of denying all may be set upon us, and so his Majesty preserved from all color of declining in any part of that, which they expected upon those articles framed by their agents with so much prejudice to this crown, and advantage to themselves, which albeit they *were in no case to be wholly pursued*, yet under favor this will be in my judgment, the more comely way, proceeding from themselves, being parties inte-

vent enquiry into defective titles was not good and expedient for the kingdom at that time, and so they were to rest satisfied without stirring any more as to that particular, as a thing which would not be departed from. 1635.

* No sooner was the parliament dissolved, than the deputy set about his favorite plan of inquisition into the King's title to the whole province of Connaught; a project rejected with horror in the late reign. Select bands of informers, adventurers, and court lawyers were dispatched through the province by the deputy, who followed at the head of the commissioners of plantation, escorted by an armed force. He had previously intimidated the county of Leitrim into a voluntary recognition of the King's title and submission to a plantation. He next entered upon Roscommon: and there the King's title was unexceptionably found without scruple or hesitation. He told the juries, that his Majesty's

The plantation of Connaught set about.

rested, than if all had been immediately put upon his Majesty, or upon his council there."

• One particularity of Strafford's administration was a disregard to every description of persons, who thwarted his views. He convened a national synod of the established clergy, in which he forced upon them the thirty-nine articles of the Church of England, more as Leland observes (3 v. p. 28) by the influence of his authority, than the "inclinations of a great part of the clergy, although but one member of the convocation ventured publicly to avow his dissent. These regulations in the ecclesiastical system were followed by an establishment too odious, and therefore too dangerous to be attempted during the sessions of parliament, that of an high commission court, which was erected in Dublin after the English model, with the same formality and the same tremendous powers."

1635. intentions in establishing his undoubted title, was to make them a rich and civil people; that he proposed not to deprive them of their just possessions, but to invest them with a considerable part of his own: that he needed not their interposition to vindicate his right, which might be established in the usual course of law, upon an information of intrusion. To his Majesty it was indifferent, whether their verdict should deny or find his title *. Mayo and Sligo followed the example of Roscommon, and found for the King. But the Galway jury, less pliant, did not find the King's title. The sheriff was fined in 1000*l.* for returning so insufficient and packed a jury. The jury were fined 4000*l.* each; their estates were seized and they imprisoned, till their fines should be paid. Such was the sentence pronounced against them in the castle chamber †, where this imperious deputy conceived, “ ‡ it was fit that their pertinacious carriage should be followed with all just severity.” However ready the deputy had at first been to bear the whole odium of the King's breach of promise, latterly there appeared to have been a mutual understanding between the King and him to share the infamy. The deputy has informed us, that upon his making a report to the King and council of

* St. Let. 1 v. p. 442. “ There I left them to chant together, as they call it, over their evidence, and the next day they found the King's title without scruple or hesitation.”

† This appeared to have then been, the official doctrine of the Castle. “ The star chamber, (said Lord Deputy Chichester in 1613) is the proper place to punish jurors, that will not find for the King upon good evidence.” Des. Cur. Hib. 1 v. p. 262.

‡ St. Let. *ubi supra*.

these proceedings, his Majesty said, "it was no severity; wished him to go on in that way; for that if he served him otherwise, he should not serve him as he expected. So I kneeled down," adds he, "kissed his Majesty's hand, and the council rose *."

1635.


* Were it not for these avowals by the parties themselves, posterity would scarcely credit the grounds, upon which the commons of England voted the following, amongst other grievances, under Strafford's administration, to be real: viz. "That jurors, who gave their verdict according to their consciences, were censured in the castle chamber in great fines; sometimes pillored, with loss of ears, and bored through the tongue, and sometimes marked in the forehead, with other infamous punishments." We have indeed his own testimony for the various cautionary practices he was wont to use on these occasions. In a letter to the secretary, he says (St. Let. 1 vol. 353.) "This house is very well composed, so as the Protestants are the majority; and this may be of great use to confirm and settle his Majesty's title to the plantations of Connaught and Ormonde; for this you may be sure of; all the Protestants are for plantations, all the other against them: so as these being the greater number, you can want no help they can give you therein. Nay, in case there be no title to be made good to these countries in the crown, yet should I not despair forth of reason of state, and for the strength and security of the kingdom, to have them passed to the King by an immediate act of parliament." And in the same letter he adds, "that he considered that majority of the Protestants in the house of commons as a good rod to hold over the Papists." And (St. L. 442) he further informs us, that he had given special directions to have men of fortune returned upon the juries in Connaught, for the first trials of the defective titles, because "this being a leading case for the whole province, it would set a value in their estimation upon the goodness of the King's title, if found by those persons of quality. And on the other hand, if the jury should prevaricate, he would be sure then to have persons of such means, as might answer to the King in a round fine in the

1640.

The deputy recalled, created Earl of Strafford, and made lord lieutenant.

Complaints of this deputy's administration reached the royal ear: but his influence upon the mind of Charles was proof against all charge. He was recalled; but upon representing his own case to the King, besides receiving the order of the Garter and Earldom of Strafford, he was confirmed in his station, under the more honourable title of Lord Lieutenant. The King's necessities obliged him to call parliaments both in England and Ireland: and although the Irish parliament readily voted six more subsidies, the commons considering supplies and grievances to go hand in hand, presented a very strong petition of remonstrance*, setting forth, in fourteen separate articles, the grievances the nation then laboured under.

Strafford raises 9000 men for the King in Ireland.

Strafford being alarmed at the progress of the Scotch covenanters, and perceiving the affairs of his royal master, both in England and Scotland, to be

castle chamber: and because the fear of that fine would be apter to produce the desired effect in such persons, than in others who had little or nothing to lose." He elsewhere (Ib. 339) admits, "that he enquired after fit men to serve upon juries; and treated with such as would give furtherance to the King's title." And he also proposed the raising of 4000 horse as good lookers on whilst the plantations were settling. And in still further promotion of this favorite scheme, he prevailed upon the King to bestow twenty per cent. or one full fifth of the value of all the estates to the lord chief justice and chief baron. Which he says (St. Lot. 2 vol. 41) "he had found upon observation, to be the best given that ever was: for that by these means, they did intend that business with as much care and diligence, as if it were their own private: and that every four shillings once paid would better his Majesty's revenue four pounds."

* It is to be seen in App. No. XXI. to my Hist. Rev.

on the decline, raised a body of 9000 men in Ireland, 8000 of whom were Roman Catholics. Notwithstanding Strafford's ferocious austerity to the Catholics, he would even boast of their loyalty and zeal for the King; saying * "they were as ready for this purpose to venture their persons, as they were to open their purses." In this consciousness, he indulged the vain ambition of commanding them in the field†: he laboured, therefore, privately to persuade the King ‡, "that the Irish did not distaste him so much, as willingly to change him, or to desire any new deputy in his stead, and that if it were left to their choice, they would not have any other general but himself."

1641:


Strafford finding his power on the decline, descended to the pitiful shift of forcing his own eulogy upon the national records by means of his creatures in parliament. The preamble of the last act of subsidies contains the most fulsome panegyrick of his *sincere and upright administration*, with thanks to his Majesty for having placed over them so *wise, just, and vigilant a governor*. These very commoners, in the next session of parliament, entered into a solemn protestation (in which they were joined by the lords), "that the aforesaid preamble to the act of subsidies was contrived, penned, and inserted fraudulently (without the privity of the house) either by the Earl of Strafford himself, or by some other person or persons, advisers,

Strafford's
meanness
in recording
his own
eulogy.

* St. Let. 2 vol. *passim*.

† A high, though ungracious compliment to the men whom he had ever disliked and persecuted.

‡ Ibid.

1641.  procurors, or actors of or in the manifold and general grievances and oppressions of his Majesty's kingdom of Ireland, by the direction and privity of the said earl, on purpose to prevent and anticipate the just and universal complaints of his Majesty's faithful, dutiful, and loving subjects against him *."

Charles renews his promise of the Graces.

Charles finding, that his frequent breaches of faith, and the misconduct of Strafford, had greatly estranged the affections of his Irish subjects, made one more effort to recal their attachment by a fresh pledge of his royal word. He wrote to the lords justices a public letter † of assurance, that his loving subjects should

* It is well known, that the Earl of Strafford was attainted by the English parliament of high treason, and suffered death as a traitor, and that the attainder was afterwards reversed by parliament under Charles II. upon the grounds, that the turbulent party not being able to convict him of any single act of treason, had framed, and by force and violence passed an act for his attainder for *accumulative or constructive* treason. Allowances should be made for the opposite extremes of party prejudice in the years 1641 and 1660. Within a fortnight before his execution, his Majesty made a speech to the house of peers, in which after telling them, that he had been present at the hearing of that great case from one end to the other; "I must, says he, tell you, that I cannot in my conscience condemn him of high treason, &c. I desire rightly to be understood: for though I tell you in my conscience I cannot condemn him of high treason, yet I cannot say I can clear him of misdemeanures, &c. Nay, for misdemeanures, I am so clear in them, that though I will not chalk out the way, yet I will shew you, that I think my Lord Strafford is not fit hereafter to serve me, or the common-wealth, in any place of trust; no, not so much as a constable."


† For this letter, and a more circumstantial detail of these transactions, see my Hist. Rev. p. 130 et seq.

thenceforth enjoy the graces promised to them in the fourth year of his reign. Soon after the receipt of this letter, the parliament adjourned : and the lords justices, as instructed, issued a proclamation of all his Majesty's grants and graces. The people generously forgot the breach of the former : general satisfaction prevailed, in full confidence, that the laws, to which they considered themselves entitled by compact and purchase, would be passed at the meeting of parliament. During this recess the grand rebellion broke out, or rather was proclaimed.

1641.
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To form a fair judgment of this period of Irish history, the power and ascendancy of the Puritan party in that kingdom must be closely attended to. In many points of view it was more extensive and powerful than in England : for the spirit of it not only pervaded every department of the state, civil, military, and clerical, but their efforts being ostensibly directed against the Catholics, were eagerly seconded by all Protestants, who made common cause in opposing Popery. The Puritans dreaded the loyalty more than the religion of the Catholics ; but by persecuting them on that score, they attacked their means of supporting the royal cause, and associated other Protestants with them, whilst from this masked battery they assailed the throne. As long therefore as the Puritans kept up the division of Ireland into *Catholic* and *Protestant*, so long were the loyal Protestants deceived in the assistance they gave to the rebellious independents. It is impossible to fix the day, on which the usurped power of the parliamentarians commenced, and the constitu-

Artful ascendancy  
of the pu-  
ritans.

1641.  tional power of the crown ceased. From the moment of that usurpation, resistance to the parliamentary power was loyalty, not treason. The Irish Catholics were the first and last in arms for King Charles. Their fidelity in opposing all the King's enemies, notwithstanding his duplicity and severity, was exemplary \*. The Puritans used all their art and influence to foment and raise what they called a Popish rebellion. The lords justices, Borlase and Parsons, prevented the bills of grace from passing, in direct contravention of the King's commands; they revived the persecution to the highest degree of rigor, and published throughout the kingdom certain petitions presented to the parliament of England, which were applications for the means of destroying the religion, lives, and estates of the Catholics of Ireland. The Scotch covenanting army published the like resolutions, and the Irish believed their declarations, that they would extirpate all the

\* Even the false and fastidious Strafford bore private testimony of this to the King in several letters. "In one word, your Majesty may have with their free good will as much as this people can possibly raise. Next, your Majesty may as safely account yourself master of their lives and fortunes, as the best of Kings can promise to find amongst the best of subjects; I will not lose an hour, or suffer this nation to cool on my hands, whose zeal is all on fire to serve your Majesty." (2 vol. St. Let. 396) In a letter from thirteen privy councillors to secretary Windebank on the same day, it is said, "which we mention for the glory of his Majesty, that hath so good and loyal subjects." Strafford in a letter to Windebank, says, "As in their purses, so also in their persons, I find them most earnest to venture them in his Majesty's service," (399) and in the postscript to that letter, he adds, "In truth, there cannot better be desired of them, than they are willing to effect."

Catholics from the province of Ulster, and enforce the covenant by the rope and sword. Under these menaces and alarms, some few of the northern Catholics associated and armed in self-defence against those whom they considered enemies to God and to their King. 1641.

“ \* The commotions,” says King Charles, “ in Ireland were so sudden and so violent, that it was hard at first either to discern the rise, or apply a remedy to that precipitant rebellion. Indeed that sea of blood, which hath there been cruelly and barbarously shed, is enough to drown any man in eternal infamy and misery, whom God shall find the malicious author or instigator of its effusion.”

In this precarious state of affairs, different causes co-operated to drive the natives into arms. According to various opinions, some were excited by the success of the Scotch covenanters, who, by their irruption into England, had obtained the sum of 200,000*l.* to induce them to return quietly into their own country and lay down their arms; others, from the dread of the menaces of the covenanting army in Ireland, that they would extirpate every priest and Papist out of the nation: many took them from zeal to their own, or systematic abhorrence of the reformed religion under all its different forms and denominations; some of the old Milesian Irish seized upon this moment of confusion and weakness in the

Various causes which drove the Irish to arms.

\* *Εἰκὼν Βασιλική.* p. 50, 51, &c. Whether Charles or Dr. Gauden wrote this book, the prelate must be allowed to have known and expressed the royal sentiments.

1641.

English government, to revive and enforce their ancient claims, which they still considered as usurped by the English, and withholden from them by no other title than of force: no inconsiderable portion of the nation was stimulated into insurrection by their clergy, who had been educated abroad, in hopes of procuring a civil establishment of the Catholic religion, and by other foreign emissaries from courts, the politics of which prompted them to weaken the power of the British empire by the internal dissensions of its subjects. Many individuals, bereft of their possessions by plantations and forfeitures, persecuted for the exercise of their religious duties, or prevented from any useful or permanent occupation by the effects or abuse of the penal laws, or the indolence of their own dispositions, composed a formidable body of malecontents, who sought redress, preferment, or existence in the confusion of an unsettled and weak government. But the main source of the evil lay in the existence of real grievances, which formed a plausible rallying point to all; namely, the too well founded apprehension of an immediate general massacre or extermination of the whole body of the Catholics\*. There prevailed at

\* This, amongst many other documents, appears by a remonstrance presented at that time by the northern nobility and gentry to the King, which is to be seen in Des. Cur. Hyb. 2 vol. 86, and contains the following passage. "There was a petition framed by the Puritans of this kingdom of Ireland, subscribed by the hands of many hundreds of them, and preferred to the house of commons of the new parliament of England, for suppressing our religion and us the professors thereof residing within this kingdom of Ireland: which, as we are credibly informed, was condescended unto by both

this time a conviction, that the armed force in Ireland was generally hostile to the King, and that the English parliament had either by concession or usurpation acquired the government of the kingdom of Ireland \*. All the remonstrances of the Catholics expressed their loyalty to his Majesty, and tenders of service against his enemies; for such from that time they considered the covenanters, and all those who supported or adhered to them.

1641.  
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On the 23d of October, 1641, the lords justices issued a proclamation, by which they declared, " that a discovery had been made of a most disloyal and detestable conspiracy, intended by some evil-affected Irish Papists, universally throughout the kingdom."

Universal
rebellion
declared by
the lords
justices.

houses of parliament, there, and undertaken to be accomplished to their full desires, and that without the privy or allowance of your Majesty." Dr. Anderson in his *Royal Genealogies*, p. 786, says, " That the native Irish, being well informed, as they thought (in 1641) that they now must either turn Protestant or depart the kingdom, or be banged at their own door, they betook to arms in their own defence, especially in Ulster, where the six counties had been forfeited." About this same time a very strong and dispassionate remonstrance from Cavan, said to have been drawn up by the protestant bishop Bedel, and in which he himself joined with the inhabitants of his diocese against the new contribution, was presented to the lords justices: and Burnet, in his life of Bishop Bedel, owns, that this remonstrance gives the best colour to their proceedings of any of their papers he had ever seen. (Vid. my App. No. XXII.)

* Dr. Warner (*Hist. of Reb. p. 5.*) says, " So that he might further testify his resolutions to make his Irish subjects easy under his government, in the beginning of May, he appointed the Earl of Leicester, and not the English parliament, as Ludlow says, lord lieutenant of that kingdom,"

1641. This misrepresentation of the universality of the conspiracy drove the lords and gentlemen of the Pale immediately to represent in a petition to the lords justices and council, that they and other innocent persons might seem to be involved as Catholics in the general terms of the proclamation; whereupon on the 29th of the same month, the lords justices sent forth an explanatory proclamation, declaring, that by the words "*Irish Papists*, they intended only such of the old Mere Irish in the province of Ulster, as had plotted, contrived, and been actors in that treason, and others, that adhered to them; and none of the old English of the Pale, or other parts of the kingdom."

The Irish
goaded to
arm in self-
defence.

We draw a veil over the scenes of blood and horror, which actually defiled this tragedy, as well as over the fictions, which have disgraced most of the English narratives of them *. Suffice it to say, that there appears

* There are no bounds to the exaggerations of our historians, as to the number of Protestants said to have been massacred by the Irish in this rebellion. Sir John Temple says, that 150,000 Protestants were massacred in cold blood, in the two first months of it. Sir William Petty coolly calculates 30,000 British killed, out of war, in the first year. And Lord Clarendon laments, that in the first two or three days of it, 40 or 50,000 of them were destroyed. Dr. Warner, though adverse to the Irish, confesses, that he could only collect from positive evidence and report for the first two years, that 4028 were killed, and that 8000 died of ill usage; which he says was corroborated by a letter in the council book at Dublin, written on the 5th of May, 1652, from the parliamentary commissioners in Ireland to the English parliament: which, in order to excite the parliament to greater severity, or at least less lenity towards the Irish, tells them, that it then appeared, that besides 848 families, there

to have been no preconcerted system or preparation for a rising on the part of the Irish, ~~as at~~ ^{1641.} their first rising they had no other weapons than staves, scythes, and pitchforks. Parsons and Borlase, favouring the Puritan party, not only declined all offer of the Catholics of the Pale to put down the northern insurrection, but exerted too successfully their ingenuity to drive the

were killed, hanged, and burnt, 6002. In justice, however, to Lord Clarendon, it must be mentioned, that he admits one fact that contradicts most of our authors, and is contrary to the generally received notion, that this rebellion first broke out by a general massacre of all the Protestants that could be found, in cold blood. "About the beginning of November (says he), 1641, the English and Scotch forces in Carrickfergus, murdered, in one night, all the inhabitants of the island Gee (commonly called Mac Gee), to the number of above 3000 men, women, and children, all innocent persons, in a time when none of the Catholics of that country were in arms or rebellion. Note, that this was the first massacre committed in Ireland, of either side." *Clar. Hist. Rev. of the Affairs of Ireland*, p. 329. The canting lamentation of the affrighted cavalier is thus wholly falsified by the historian. For how could 40,000 or 50,000 Protestants have been massacred within the two or three first days of the rebellion, which began on the 23d of October, when he tells us, that the 3000 Irish Papists massacred by the Protestants in the ensuing month of November, was the first massacre on either side. His lordship also gives this testimony of the Irish suffering without retaliation in Munster: "In Decy's county, the neighbouring English garrisons of the county of Cork, after burning and pillaging all that county, murdered above 300 persons, men, women and children, before any rebellion began in Munster, and led 100 labourers prisoners to Caperquine, where being tried, by couples were cast into the river, and made sport to see them drowned. Observe, that this county is not charged with any murders to be committed on Protestants." *Ibid.* p. 269.

1641.

rest of the kingdom into a similar one, for the profligate purpose of profiting of the forfeitures of those who should give into it*. They forced people to the rack to draw confessions from them; they sent out parties from Dublin and other garrisons, who killed and destroyed the natives, without sparing women or children. Martial law was executed with uncontrolled severity by Sir Charles Coote, and the Pale was burned for seventeen miles in length, and twenty-five in breadth, by the Earl of Ormond. These measures necessarily exasperated the Irish to retaliation, and left them no hope, but in the sword. Both the Irish government and English parliament were bent upon the utter extermination of all the Catholic inhabitants of Ireland. Their estates were already marked out and allotted to the conquerors†. Thus was the nation compelled to arm in self-defence: and in resisting this parliamentary oppression they acted as royalists ‡.

* "Whatever (says Leland) were the professions of the chief governors, the only danger they really apprehended, was that of a too speedy suppression of the rebellion. Extensive forfeitures was their favorite object, and that of their friends." 3 *Leland*, p. 160. They with some of their partizans in the council, says Carte (1 vol. p. 194), "privately wrote to the Earl of Leicester, then lord lieutenant, desiring his secrecy, for they could not speak openly at the council board, that he would not accept of any overtures for checking the Northern rebellion, because the charge of supplies from England would be abundantly compensated out of the estates of the actors in the rebellion."

† *History of Rebellion*, p. 183; and 3 *Leland*, p. 166.

‡ Carte admits, that at this time, "the parliament's pamphlets were received as oracles, its commands obeyed as laws, and extirpation preached for Gospel."

A commission under the great seal to Phelim O'Nial to rise in arms against the usurped armed force of the Protestants in Ireland, was publicly shewn by that chieftain. The King's enemies affected to believe it a true commission; their aim being to implicate his Majesty, by considering it an open declaration of war by Charles and his Irish Catholic subjects against his parliament and Protestant subjects. But the forgery of it by O'Nial (as he confessed it at the place of his execution) speaks highly in favor of the loyalty even of his own Catholic adherents, whom this powerful leader could not induce to take up arms,

1642.
Forged
commis-
sion to
O'Neale.

Sir William St. Leger, the president of Munster, committed the most unprovoked murders and barbarities throughout that province; and upon their remonstrating, he tauntingly insulted them all "as rebels, would not trust one of them, and thought it most prudent to hang the best of them." The particular views for goading this province into rebellion, are fully laid open in Lord Cork's letter to the speaker of the House of Commons in England, which he sent, together with 1100 indictments, against persons of property in that province, to have them settled by crown lawyers, and returned to him: and so, says he, "*if the house please* to direct to have them all proceeded against to outlawry, whereby his Majesty may be entitled to their lands and possessions, which I dare boldly affirm, was, at the beginning of this insurrection, not of so little yearly value as 200,000l." This Earl of Cork was notorious, during the two preceding reigns, for his rapacity; but this last effort he called the *work of works*. In Dublin, many were put to the rack, in order to extort confessions: and in the short space of two days, upwards of 4000 indictments were found against landholders, and other men of property, in Leinster. Numerous are the letters of Lord Clanricarde to Ormond, and others, complaining of similar attempts to raise Connaught into rebellion, even by Ormond's own troops.

1642.



but under the authority of the King. On the other hand their loyalty forbade obedience to the usurped jurisdiction of the English parliament to command the lords justices, in which no assent, or even derivative idea from the King's authority, is referred to*. The lords and gentlemen of the Pale, whose houses had been burned, whose lands had been destroyed, whose tenants had been murdered by the Earl of Ormond, under these parliamentary justices, without crime, provocation, or resistance, renewed their application to government to accept of their best endeavours to put a stop to the growing insurrection. Their overtures were indignantly rejected. The Earl of Castlehaven was imprisoned; and Sir John Read put on the rack, for officious interference†.

The Catholics confederate upon oath.

At last the whole body of the Irish Catholics was compelled, for self-preservation, to unite in a regular system of defence. They bound themselves to each other by an oath, expressive of unqualified allegiance to the King, and an undertaking with life, power, and estate, to support and defend the royal person, honors, estates, dignities, and prerogatives, against all impugnors thereof, &c. ‡

Commission to Ormond and others to meet the confederates.

The King, considering the circumstances of this general confederacy of the Catholics of Ireland, signed a commission, directed to the Marquis of Ormond,

* In the Appendix, No. XXV. to my Hist. Rev. this order of the English parliament to the lords justices is to be seen.

† Lord Castlehaven escaped out of prison, or probably would have undergone the same fate as Sir John Read.

‡ Vide the form of oath, Appendix, No. XXVI. That the confederates were convinced that they were acting loyally, appears from

the Earls of Clanricarde and Roscommon, Viscount Moore, Sir Thomas Lucas, Sir Maurice Eustace, and Thomas Bourke, Esq. to meet the principal confederates (who had petitioned his Majesty to listen to their grievances) to receive, in writing, what they had to say or propound. Ormond in lieu of complying with the pacific orders of this commission, preferred the orders of a committee * from the English parlia-

1642.

Clanricarde's letter to the King, in which he vouches for the loyal disposition of his countrymen. That letter is very illustrative of the spirit and circumstances of those times, and is given in the App. to my Hist. Rev. No XXVII. Lord Castlehaven also, amongst other reasons for joining the confederates, alleged the following. "I began to consider the condition of the kingdom, as that the state did chiefly consist of men of mean birth and quality, that most of them steered by the influence and power of those who were in arms against the King, that they had by cruel massacreing, hanging, and torturing, been the slaughter of thousands of innocent men, women, and children, better subjects than themselves; that they by all their actions shewed, that they looked at nothing but the extirpation of the nation, the destruction of monarchy, and, by the utter suppression of the ancient catholic religion, to settle and establish Puritanism. *To these I could be no traitor.*" Des. Cur. H. 2. vol. p. 132.

* It was well known to Ormond, that this committee, which consisted of Reynolds and Goodwyn, was sent from the English parliament against the King's express commands. On his way, Ormond took the castle of Timolin, which, after an obstinate resistance, surrendered; and although he had promised quarter to the garrison for their gallant defence, yet he suffered them all to a man to be butchered in cold blood, after they had surrendered their arms. And on the very day on which the other commissioners received the remonstrance from the catholics at Trim (viz. the 17th of March, 1642), he attacked and routed the forces of general Preston, and killed 500 of them. Blood and devastation marked his progress to and from Ross.

1642: ment, to march with an army of 5,500 foot and 500 horse, towards Ross. In this expedition, near 1000 of his countrymen lost their lives. He was the only one of the commissioners who did not attend the confederates at Trim; where they delivered to the rest of the King's commissioners a very full remonstrance of all their grievances, which was accepted, and by them transmitted over to his Majesty*.

The remonstrance of Trim.

In consequence of this remonstrance, which strongly affected the King, his Majesty informed the lords justices, that he had authorised the Marquis of Ormond to treat with his Irish subjects, who had taken arms, for a cessation of hostilities for one year: "which as it was a service of very great concernment to his Majesty, and his present affairs in both kingdoms, so he willed and commanded, that they would therein give the most effectual assistance and furtherance to advance the same by their industry and endeavours, as there should be occasion." Sir William Parsons was superseded, indicted for high crimes, misdemeanors, and treasonable practices, and particularly for having been the principal opposer of the cessation. A new commission was issued to Sir John Borlase and Sir Henry Tichborne, to be lords justices. The latter was expressly appointed, as being considered favourable to the cessation.

Ormond disobeys the King's orders.

Ormond was appointed after many delays, and a second command from the King (the first having been disobeyed) by the lords justices to meet the commissioners of the confederates at Castle Martin, for negoti-

* For this curious and authentic document, see my Appendix, No. XXVIII.

ating the cessation. But, the day before he set out upon this painful commission, he summoned before the council board some of the most substantial citizens of Dublin of the protestant party, and delivered to them a written proposal, that if 10,000*l.* should be raised, the one half in money, the other in victuals, and be brought in within a fortnight, he would in that case proceed with the war, endeavour to take Wexford, and break off the treaty for the cessation *.

1643.

Ormond used every engine to prevent the cessation from taking place: he received the commissioners of the confederates with the utmost contempt, indignant-ly calling for the authority by which they appeared; when they presented their credentials from the supreme council of the confederates at Kilkenny †. He contested their title, and peremptorily rejected the

Ormond
against the
cessation.

* This disloyal opposition to the King's commands by Ormond is referred to by Sir Henry Tichborne, who was present at the council, in his history of the siege of Drogheda. "The cessation intended was so disagreeable to the Irish privy council, that most of them desired to run any fortune and extremity of famishing rather than yield unto it. And I moved the board (there being twenty-one counsellors present), that every one for himself, out of his peculiar means and credit, should procure 300*l.* which amongst them all would raise 6300*l.*; for even with that, he (Ormond) offered to undertake the work, and that there should be no further mention of a cessation amongst them. But this motion of mine finding no place, the cessation began to be treated on, and was in sincerity of heart as much hindered and delayed by me, as was in my power."

† This authority is to be seen in the Appendix, No. XXIX. From this it appears, that the confederates openly professed themselves, in defiance of all obloquy and calumny, as faithful to the King. So also, when the lords justices and council, in treating for the exchange of a prisoner, had applied to them the word *rebels*,

1643.

condition of dissolving the present, and calling a new parliament; although the King had, in a letter of the 2d of July, 1643, to the lords justices and the Marquis of Ormond, authorising them to conclude this cessation with the confederates, expressly commanded them to assure the Irish in his name, that *he was graciously inclined to dissolve the present parliament, and call a new one between that and the 10th of November following.*

Ormond
resists the
King's com-
mands to
determine
the cessa-
tion.

Ormond was as determined in his disobedience to all the King's commands favourable to his Catholic subjects of Ireland, as the staunchest parliamentarian of the day*. By these contrivances, the cessation was suspended; and it was not until the fifth letter† from

they highly resented the insult upon their loyalty, and sent the following answer:

"We do not know, to whom this certificate is directed; for we avow ourselves in all our actions to be his Majesty's loyal subjects. Neither shall it be safe hereafter, for any messenger to bring any paper to us, containing other language than such as suits with our duty, and the affections we bear to his Majesty's service. Wherein some may pretend, but none shall have more real desires, to further his Majesty's interests, than his Majesty's loyal and obedient subjects.

Signed, MOUNTGARRETT,
MUSKERRY," &c.

* So bent was Ormond upon preventing this cessation, that he sent Sir Philip Percival to England to oppose it: and he opposed it with such virulence, that Sir George Ratcliffe told the Marquis of Ormond on that occasion, that had he not been recommended by his lordship, he would have passed at court for a round-head: and he did in fact soon after join the English rebels.

† These different letters, which shew the King's eagerness for the peace, are to be seen in the Appendix, No. XXX. to my Historical Review.

his Majesty to Ormond (viz. on the 7th of September, 1644. 1643), that his most urgent commands upon this subject were ultimately submitted to.

Notwithstanding Ormond's detestation of the Catholics, he was no less than his royal master convinced of their loyalty: he even exceeded his commission in treating with their commissioners for a pecuniary supply for that very army, with which he had recently committed such outrages upon the inhabitants of the Pale. He procured from the confederates a voluntary payment of 30,000*l.* and a reinforcement of some thousands of their best men for his Majesty's army in Scotland, who afterwards rendered essential service to the royal cause. The King was impatient, and renewed his orders for a cessation: he declared his intention to call a new parliament, and to listen to their agents about a peace. And to confound all opposition to this object, Parsons, Temple, Loftus, Meredith, the great partisans of the English Parliament, were accused of high crimes and misdemeanors, and by royal mandate were committed to close custody. The Irish were the dupes and victims of court intrigue: they returned harshness and deceit, with attachment and loyalty.

Scarcely was the treaty for the cessation signed, ere it was formally rejected by the Northern army, which, as well as the rest of the King's forces in Ireland, was under the command of Ormond. This was immediately followed up by their taking the covenant*:

* The English parliament sent Owen O'Conolly, who had received from them the commission of a captain, and a pension for having been the first informer of the grand rebellion, to press the

Ormond
procures
from the
Irish both
men and
money for
the King's
service.

The treaty
rejected by
the north-
ern army,
who take
the cove-
nant.

1644.

and such of the English army as had formally acceded to the cessation, offered their services to follow Monroe, whenever he should march against the Irish. About the same time, Lord Inchiquin openly revolted against the King, by accepting the presidency of Munster from the parliament. He caused to be administered to each of his followers an oath for the extirpation of Popery and extermination of the Irish.

English
parliament
opposes the
cessation.

The parliament of England sent forth a declaration against the cessation: in answer to which, his Majesty published, *The Grounds and Motives of the Cessation*, for which he says, "there was an absolute necessity, as preparatory to a peace." The Irish troops sent over from the confederates behaved with so much zeal in the royal cause, that the English parliament on the 24th of October, 1644, published an ordinance, "that no quarter should be given to any Irishman or Papist born in Ireland, that should be taken in hostility against the parliament, either upon the sea or in England or Wales." After this the hostilities daily committed on the confederates by Monroe in Ulster, Sir Charles Coote in Connaught, and Lord Inchiquin in Munster, in breach of the cessation, drove the confederates to present a strong petition to the Marquis

covenant upon the army; the fruits of his mission were rapid, immediately upon his landing all the Scotch and most of the English officers of the northern army took the covenant; Carte informs us, that Ormond had it in command from his Majesty to send down a proclamation to all the colonels to forbid it, but they would not publish it for fear of Monroe, as they alleged. Connolly soon joined the parliamentary rebels, and was by them promoted to a colonelcy.

of Ormond, now made lord lieutenant of Ireland, either that he would put himself at their head, or permit them to employ their forces against those, who by violating the armistice, had avowed themselves open enemies to his Majesty *. The inveteracy of Ormond against the Catholics prevented him from seconding what he knew to be the interest, the wish, and the commands of his royal master, lest he should † in that case be suddenly and totally abandoned by the Protestants. An unequivocal test of the loyalty of the Irish to King Charles, who had not only by several letters strongly recommended to Ormond, but strictly commanded him to *conclude a peace with his Irish Subjects, whatever it cost* ‡. He, however, contrived for three or four years to delay the peace, notwithstanding the King's most positive commands, until it became unavailing by the cessation of the exercise of the royal authority after the imprisonment of his Majesty's person in the year 1646.

The King had more reliance upon the fidelity of his Catholic subjects of Ireland; at this time, than upon that of any other of his subjects, was satisfied with the end, for which they had confederated, and wrote to

The Irish
loyal to the
last.

* Lord Digby in a letter to Ormond frankly admits on this occasion, that it was understood, that if the Scots submitted not to the cessation, "they then should be declared against as open enemies." (Carte Orm. p. 346).

† Carte Orm. p. 322. If, says he, "I take the charge of their army upon me, or denounce immediately an offensive war against the Scots, not ten protestants will follow me, but rather rise as one man and adhere to the Scots."

‡ Several of these letters are to be seen in the App. to my Hist. Rev. No. XXX.

1646. Ormond concerning the *very eminent good service* of Antrim, and O'Neile, two of the most powerful Catholics: earnestly charging him to unite himself in a strict and entire correspondence with Antrim, and contribute all his power to further him in those services which he had undertaken. The King's wishes * were to strengthen the confederacy, and clear the confederates of the guilt of rebellion: yet from the false policy of the Stuart family, he adopted two measures, by which they were deluded, his Protestant subjects deceived, and his own interests defeated.

Ormond's
perfidy to
the King.

So obstinate was Ormond, in counteracting the King's wishes to ingratiate himself with the confederates; and so well satisfied was he with disobeying the peremptory commands of his royal master, that he even boasted in a letter to the King, "that he treated with these commissioners in such a manner, and gave them such answers, as might let them conjecture he had directions to the contrary." Ormond was at that time negotiating a treaty with the rebellious army of the Scots in Ulster, to join them with his forces in the renewal of hostilities against the confederates †.

* The King's letters to Ormond shew how much hurt his Majesty was by his disobedience. They rise gradually from recommendation and pressing, to positive and peevish commands. *I command you to conclude a peace with the Irish, cost what it may. And, I absolutely command you without reply, to execute the directions I sent you on the 27th of February last; which were to make peace, even without the council. And, a peace with the Irish is most necessary for my affairs in England, wherefore I command you to dispatch it out of hand.* C. O. 3 v. p. 431.

† The confederates were apprised of his Majesty's commands to Ormond, by their agents Lord Taaffe, Mr. Burke, and Mr. Brent, who then were with the King.

The King, fearful that the harshness of Ormond towards the catholics, and his inflexible reluctance to obey any commands favorable to them would alienate their attachment to the royal cause, endeavoured to effect by the secret influence of his authority over them, what the insincerity of his character prevented him from openly avowing. Charles, in his troubles, had experienced the most eminent support from the Marquis of Worcester, who had expended above 150,000*l.* (an immense sum in those days) in the King's service, and in maintaining a body of 1500 foot, and 500 horse. That family was then Catholic; and the King placed an extraordinary confidence in the fidelity and zeal of his eldest son Edward Somerset, Lord Herbert, whom he created Earl of Glamorgan. Being of the same religion as the confederates, his Majesty availed himself of the influence, which he conceived this circumstance coupled with his connections in Ireland (he was married to Lady Margaret O'Bryen, daughter of the Earl of Thomond) must naturally have given him, granted him a patent * of very extraordinary powers, which seemed specially calculated to check or overawe the powers of Ormond, whom he affected to regard, but really feared and actually mistrusted. Glamorgan was enabled to levy any number of men in Ireland, and other parts beyond seas, to command them, to put officers over them, to make governors in forts and towns, to give powers to receive the King's rents,

1646.

The commissions to the Earl of Glamorgan.

* This patent may be seen in App. No. XXXI. to my Historical Review,

1646. &c. This was followed up by two other commissions for extending and enlarging his powers, (even beyond the law), should circumstances call upon him to use a vigour of that nature: and to do that, in which his lieutenant could not so well be seen, as not fit for his Majesty then publicly to own. In these he pledged the honour of a King and a Christian, to ratify whatever Glamorgan should think fit to grant to the confederates under his hand and seal: the said confederates having, "*by their supplies testified their zeal to our service* *." Of the like description were the succour, aids, and assistance, which the confederates endeavoured under the then existing circumstances to draw from the King of Spain, the court of Rome, and afterwards from the Duke of Lorrain. The King indeed himself both petitioned, and actually received considerable succours from the same quarter †.

Duplicity
of Charles,
and perfidy
of Ormond.

The confederates were victims to the duplicity of Charles, and the dupes of Ormond's perfidy. He professed loyalty, whilst he practised disobedience to his royal master, and affected confidence in Glamorgan and the confederates, whilst he was planning their ruin. Through his insinuations they were pre-

* For the two latter commissions vide Appendix to Historical Review, No. XXXII. Whatever objections may be made to the propriety or reality of these grants on behalf of the crown, they prove beyond question that the confederates were considered by his Majesty at least as *royalists*.

† This fully appears from the King's letter to the archbishop of Ferns, dated from Oxford, April 30th, 1645: and also from a letter from Cardinal Pamphilio to the Queen at Paris, accompanied by a brief from the Pope to the like purport, dated March the 2d, 1645. For the two letters, vide App. No. XXXIII.

waited upon (though against the advice of the Pope's agent and nuncio) to make peace publicly with himself, and privately with Glamorgan, disjoining the religious from the political articles. A letter, which Ormond had written to Lord Muskerry * expressive of his readiness to concur with Glamorgan in every thing, which the latter should undertake for his Majesty's service, was considered by the confederates at large as a solemn pledge on behalf of the King's lieutenant †, "and was delivered to the nuncio by the supreme council of Kilkenny as a proof, that the Marquis of Ormond would support the agreement, which had been, or should be made between them and the Earl of Glamorgan, though the marquis afterwards disappointed their expectations."

1646.

The general assembly of the confederates, which met at Kilkenny on the 6th of March, 1645-6, dispatched Muskerry and other commissioners to Dublin, publicly to conclude a peace with Ormond. But the secret treaty had been concluded with Glamorgan six months before. The conditions of the latter chiefly related to the toleration of the Catholic religion, and the sending over subsidies to the King in England ‡. It happened in the mean time, that the particulars of this secret treaty became public §, and

Peace with
the confederates, and
Glamorgan
imprisoned.

* This letter may be seen in the Appendix to my Historical Review, No. XXXIV.

† An inquiry into the share which Charles I. had in the transactions of the Earl of Glamorgan, p. 64.

‡ This treaty may be seen in the Appendix, No. XXXV. to my Historical Review.

§ They were found upon the titular archbishop of Tuam, who

1646. Ormond and Digby, though privy to the commissions and authority under which Glamorgan had acted, procured him to be indicted of high treason for forging or surreptitiously obtaining these very commissions, and his person was immediately committed to close custody. The discovery was reported to parliament; and Charles basely protested upon the word of a King and a Christian, that he had never given to the Earl of Glamorgan those commissions and powers, which he was then known by many, and now is known by all, to have repeatedly given. This colourable commitment of Glamorgan was not of long duration: he was quickly discharged upon his own and the Earl of Kildare's recognizance; the confederates having peremptorily insisted upon breaking off the treaty for peace, until he should be discharged*.

was accidentally killed by the parliamentary rebels before Sligo, who together with some of Ormond's forces, were in open hostility, notwithstanding the cessation and the then pending treaty for peace.

* Dr. Leland admits, that notwithstanding this colourable commitment, Ormond continued to regard Glamorgan as really entrusted by the King, and empowered to negotiate in his name. In proof of this he favours us with the letter written to the Earl of Glamorgan soon after his discharge, the original of which he had in his possession, and adds, that both Ormond and Digby always regarded Glamorgan "as duly authorized by the King: and treated and addressed him as a person still enjoying the royal favour and confidence. And that he did still enjoy them in a very high degree, there is direct and positive proof in those letters extant amongst the Harleian manuscripts, in which Charles assures him of the continuance of his friendship, and promises to make good all his instructions and promises to him and the nuncio." 3 *Lel.* 292, 4, 5.

The confederates having been thus betrayed by the King, in their subsequent negotiations required some more stable security for the performance of articles than the word of a monarch so frequently violated in their regard. Hence dissention arose amongst them, which was actively fomented by Ormond. The nuncio and a considerable party of the confederates objected to the conclusion of any peace, which had future concession for its basis: but no internal division could extinguish their inviolable attachment to the royal cause.

1646.

Internal division of the confederates.

Ormond resisted the pressing solicitations of Clanciarde and others, to place himself at the head of the confederates, and proceed against Sir Charles Coote, and the other parliamentary rebels, who were daily violating the cessation, and committing hostilities against the adherents to the royal cause: and he finally delivered up his sword, the castle, and King's authority to the commissioners of the parliamentary rebels*. In this disgraceful negotiation with parlia-

Ormond betrays the royal cause.

* He had previously boasted to Colonel Leyburne, who had come over with a confidential commissioner from the King, "that if there should be a necessity, he would give up those places under his command to the English rather than the Irish rebels, of which opinion he thought every good Englishman was." Immediately before Ormond delivered up the sword to the parliament commissioners, Alderman Smith, then Mayor of Dublin, aged near eighty years, a man of great integrity and loyalty, came to the council table, and acquainted my Lord of Ormond, that it was generally reported in town, and spread so far as no man doubted it, that his excellency intended to deliver up the government to the parliament: that he came to acquaint his lordship, that himself

1646.

ment, Ormond acted with full reflection, and with the most interested views to his own domestic concerns; having stipulated with them for the price of his base surrender, viz. 5000*l.* in hand, 2000*l.* a-year for five years successively, and a total release and discharge of all incumbrances upon his estates (which were very heavy) up to the time of the insurrection. The spirit and motive, with which he thus betrayed the trust and authority of his royal master, appear more fully from the complimentary interview that passed between him and the Irish parliament in their vote and his acceptance of thanks for his treaty with the English rebels. After this, Ormond was ignominiously expelled from the castle, sooner than he intended to quit it, by the English committee, and forced to transport himself to England *.

was entrusted with the King's sword of the city, and that he would not resign it to rebels. Whereupon my Lord of Ormond gave him some check, and ordered him to withdraw : but upon further consideration, his lordship and the council thought fit to call him in again, and to commend him for the resolution he had shewn in maintaining his Majesty's authority : and withal read a letter from his Majesty requiring the lord lieutenant to deliver up the sword to the commissioners empowered by the parliament of England : whereupon he said, he would submit. (St. Let. from the Earl of Essex, p. 344.) To cover the turpitude of his own conduct Ormond thus imposed upon the lord mayor of Dublin, by reading either a forged or a forced letter from his Majesty ; for had it been real, he would have pleaded it in his own justification.

* Before his departure the confederates again pressed him (but in vain) to put himself at their head in support of the royal cause : he had scarcely arrived in England, when he was forced to fly to

In this decline of the King's affairs, the confederated catholics met again at Kilkenny, where they took into consideration, that his Majesty was in restraint, that all addresses to him were forbidden, and that some members of parliament, who had ventured to speak in his favour, were expelled, "therefore in that extremity, "there being no access to his Majesty for imploring "either his justice or mercy, all laws either human "or divine did allow the said catholics to take some "other course, in order to their defence and preservation: not against his sacred Majesty, but against those "who had laid violent hands on his person, who designed to abolish the royal authority, and resolved "to destroy or extirpate the said catholics *."

1647.
The confederates at Kilkenny put themselves on self defence.

The ambitious Ormond having been thus indignantly expelled from the government by the enemies of his master, resorted to the unshaken loyalty of the Irish catholics, the King's firmest friends, as the instruments of his own revenge. He dissembled for the moment his anti-catholic rancour, and affected to place the fate of his sovereign in their exertions. He landed at Cork on the 29th of September 1648, where he was received with acclamation, and invited by the general assembly at Kilkenny to conclude a peace, and join with the nation in making head against

Ormond lands at Cork, and returns to Kilkenny.

France, having been informed that a warrant had issued for his apprehension from the very persons, to whom he had made the mercenary surrender of his high trust, dignity, and power, in Ireland.

* Walsh's Reply to a Person of Quality.

1648. the parliamentary rebels. He was received in triumph at Kilkenny by the whole body of the assembly, and all the nobility and gentry of the neighbourhood, and lodged in his own castle with his own guards about him.

Ormond opposes the catholics to the last.

Ormond still rejected every proposal of the confederates relating to toleration of religion, and the repeal of any of the penal laws. The treaty was interrupted by the open defection of Inchiquin's army and their declaration against the King. Ormond was intimately connected with this nobleman, and he took this occasion of suspending the definitive treaty, under pretext of giving satisfaction to Inchiquin and his leading officers.

Peace concluded with the confederates.

The peace was concluded the 17th of January, 1648, a fortnight before the tragical end of this unfortunate monarch. Carte observes, that " * the news of the " conclusion of this peace did not reach England soon " enough to deter the execrable authors of the murder of their King from perpetrating a villainy, which, " how long soever they had intended it, they durst " not attempt to execute, till they thought themselves " secure of impunity by being absolute masters of " Great Britain, without any considerable force in any " part of these nations to oppose their measures or " take vengeance on their crimes." Even this professed encomiast of Charles and Ormond has not scrupled to animadvert upon the King's ingratitude to his catholic subjects of Ireland.

* 2 Vol. Cart. Græ. p. 52.

Ormond had evidently accelerated the disasters of 1648.
his royal master, by having so long deprived him of
the assistance of his catholic subjects in Ireland. But Ormond
never till the last week of his master's life had he accelerated
the honesty to do them justice, by noticing in a the fate of
letter to the Prince of Wales, " * the very eminent Charles.
" loyalty of the assembly, which was not shaken by
" the success which God had permitted to the mon-
" strous rebellion in England, nor by the mischievous
" practices of the no less malicious rebels† in Ireland."

It is no small unequivocal mark of the eminent Unshaken
loyalty and fidelity of the Irish catholics, that at loyalty of
Charles's execution, they formed the only compact the Irish
national body throughout the extent of the British catholics to
Empire, who had preserved untainted and unshaken Charles.
their faith and attachment to the royal cause; although
they had been throughout his reign more oppressed,
persecuted, and aggrieved by their sovereign, than any
other description of his subjects whatsoever. No
sooner were the melancholy tidings of the death of
Charles conveyed to Ormond, who was then at
Youghall, than he instantly proclaimed the Prince of
Wales King, by the style of Charles the Second.

* 2 Orm. 2 vol. p. 52.

† Yet to these Ormond surrendered his sword for 15,000l.!!!

CHAPTER VII.

The Interregnum.

1649
 Effects
 of King
 Charles's
 execution.

THE melancholy event of King Charles's execution was an open demonstration of the loyalty of the confederates, who still openly persevered in their exertions for the royal cause. Even Ormond was now compelled to treat his armed protestant friends as rebels and regicides. With a reluctant confidence he placed himself at the head of the confederated catholics, and soon reduced most of the strong holds of the northern parts of the kingdom, except Dublin and Londonderry. His pride stimulated him to regain possession of Dublin, which he had basely sold to the parliamentary rebels. But that infamy was aggravated by his disgraceful defeat at Rathmines,* by a very inferior force under Michael Jones, the parliamentary governor of Dublin. That shameful disaster, coupled with the ready submission of Inchi-

* Rathmines is about three miles from Dublin: Carte says, that 1500 soldiers and 300 officers in this battle were taken prisoners, and about 600 slain, and above half of them within the walls of Dublin after quarter had been proclaimed. Most of Inchiquin's men enlisted under Jones, 2 C. Orm. 81. According to Borlase, Ormond, after this shameful defeat, wrote to Jones for a list of prisoners, who answered, "My lord, since I routed your army, I cannot have the happiness to know where you are, that I may wait upon you."

quin's men, who instantly enlisted into Jones's army, and several other circumstances indicative of Ormond's partiality to whatsoever force opposed the confederates, renewed in the Irish their former suspicions, that he had still some secret understanding with the English rebels: and these suspicions were strengthened by the unaccountable failure of all his subsequent undertakings against them. ¹⁶⁴⁹

The new king wrote from the Hague, that he was extremely satisfied with the articles of peace with the confederates, and would wholly confirm them*. Notwithstanding, after he had been proclaimed in Scotland, he was advised by Ormond to accept of the commissioners' invitation to seat himself on that throne, though he well knew that the covenant was to be the previous condition of his admission. Charles arrived in Scotland on the 23d of June, 1650, where he signed both the national and solemn covenant †. Within two months, he published a declaration, "that he would have no enemies but the enemies of the covenant: that he did detest and abhor popery, superstition, and idolatry, together with prelacy: resolving not to tolerate, much less to allow, those in any part of his dominions, and to endeavour the extirpation thereof to the utmost of his power." He

Charles II.
approves
of the peace,
then takes
the cove-
nant.

* Cart. Orig. Let. 2 vol. p. 363 and 367.

† It is fairly remarked by Leland, 3 vol. 352, that "Charles chose rather to attempt the recovery of his dominions by hypocrisy and perfidy in Scotland, than by any gallant enterprize in Ireland."

1650. pronounced the peace lately made with the Irish, and confirmed by himself, to be null and void : adding, " that he was convinced in his conscience of the sinfulness and unlawfulness of it, and of his allowing them (the confederates) the liberty of the popish religion ; for which he did from his heart desire to be deeply humbled before the Lord : and for having sought unto such unlawful help for the restoring of him to his throne." Ormond * foretold, that this declaration would withdraw the Irish from their allegiance, by convincing them, that by his Majesty's having taken the covenant, they were deprived of the benefit of the peace, and left to that extirpation, which the covenant proclaimed both of their religion and persons †.

* Vid. his Letter to Secretary Long, of 2d September 1650. C. Orig. Pap. 453.

† In the course of what is called the grand rebellion in Ireland, the only party, which could with any propriety be termed rebels, were the adherents of Phelim O'Nial, who headed most of the native Irish catholics in the North. He, together with the adherents of the Pope's nuncio, was denounced as a traitor against the royal authority, for resisting the peace of 1648, by the supreme council of Kilkenny. Phelim O'Nial was charged with having forged a commission from the king to levy war against the parliamentarians, or English protestant army in Ireland ; for in the beginning of the decline of the power of Charles I, the English party affected to use these terms synonymously. In the year 1652, a high court of justice, afterwards called Cromwell's slaughterhouse, from the numbers of bloody sentences pronounced in it, was instituted for trying *rebels and malignants*, which, in the revolutionary language of that day, meant *loyalists and royalists* ; and also for the trial of all massacres and murders, committed since

No historical incident, ancient or modern, more strongly indicates the violence of religious prejudice over the conduct of statesmen and governments, than the excesses to which a real or affected abhorrence of popery misled the King and most of his servants, with reference to catholic Ireland. Throughout the British dominions the confederates were the only body of any consideration then under arms in the royal cause. Charles II. (he was a Stuart) having taken the covenant, and published that declaration under the advice of Ormond, set an example of infidelity and ingratitude, which has furnished a deceptive vizard to the bigotted intolerance of much later days. Ormond, at the head of an army, which he boasted *he could persuade to starve outright for his Majesty*, had not only received the before-mentioned price for surrendering Dublin and the sword of state to the rebels, but continued to receive 3000*l.* per annum from Cromwell, as a provision for his lady during the whole time of his own proscription*. He never once ven-

1650.

Harred to
popery su-
persedes
duty and
loyalty.

the 1st of October, 1641. The regicides brought Phelim O'Nial to trial in this court, hoping, as it appeared from their efforts, to fix the late king with the stigma of exciting the rebellion : and after his condemnation, they offered him pardon and restitution of his estates, if he would acknowledge the genuineness of his commission. Phelim disdained to save his life by a lie, that would have been injurious to that unfortunate prince. He replied aloud, that in order to draw the people, who would not otherwise follow him, he took an old seal from a deed, and put it to a forged commission, to persuade them, that he acted by royal authority. The bishop of Kilmore assured Mr. Carte, that he was present at the execution, and heard this from the mouth of O'Nial.

* Answer to Walsh.

1650. tured, in person, to meet Cromwell, Ireton, or Jones, after his disgrace at Rathmines. He strengthened as much as he could the regicides, by sending, as Orrery expressed it, "all those worthy protestants, who till then had served him, to come off to the rest of the protestants, (then headed by Ireton himself) esteeming those less ill, to whom he sent his friends, than those, from whom he sent them." After Ormond had done what lay in his power, to encrease the strength of the regicides, and reduce that of the confederates, he quitted Ireland, leaving to the Earl of Clanricarde the wrecks of his boasted, dissipated, and bartered powers. He fled to France, and in a foreign clime, basely vaunted of his attachment to a cause, which he had sold, betrayed, and ruined. Lord Broghill sold himself † to Cromwell personally, and received from his hand the lieutenancy of Ireland, upon an assurance, that he should have *no oaths or engagements imposed upon him, nor be obliged to draw his sword against any but the Irish rebels*. Coote, (afterwards Lord Montrath), with less ceremony, went over with the protestants of his northern army to the regicides. It was the object next to Cromwell's heart, to raise every power against the only force that still remained staunch to the cause of royalty. It was his policy to disfigure the enviable firmness of loyalty by the fashionable hatred of popery.

† For the particulars of this treacherous negociation between Cromwell and Broghill, see my *Historical Review*, Vol. I. p. 162, &c.

He had the address to avail himself of the enthusiasm of the day, and represent his own as the protestant cause, notwithstanding independency were more remote than popery from the principles and practice of the established church. 1650.

Cromwell too well knew the consequence of Irish loyalty not to postpone all other views to the crushing of this last stay to the sinking power of the Stuarts. He landed at Dublin on the 15th of August, 1650, with 8000 foot and 4000 horse, an immense quantity of ammunition, and a rich military train. After that city had been sold to the Parliamentarians by Ormond, the possession of it was confirmed to the regicides by the disgraceful defeat at Rathmines. Here Cromwell remained a fortnight to refresh his men and make proper arrangements for the conquest of the kingdom. He marched to Drogheda with a force of 10,000 men. Sir Arthur Aston, who commanded the garrison, consisting of about three thousand men, rejected his summons to surrender. Cromwell battered the town incessantly for nearly 48 hours. Twice were his men repulsed in attempting to force a breach. Cromwell, enraged at the firm resistance of the brave defenders, headed the third attack in person, and carried the place by storm. In order to damp the vigour of the garrison, he proclaimed quarter to all that would lay down their arms. The governor, to spare the effusion of human blood, yielded to the intreaties of the inhabitants, and surrendered. Cromwell kept his word for two days, and when he had completely disarmed the garrison, he ordered the

Siege and
massacre at
Drogheda
and Wex-
ford.


1650.

whole to be massacred in cold blood*. Thirty only escaped the butchery, and they were transported to Barbadoes. This *extraordinary severity*, Ludlow coolly says, *he presumed was used to discourage others from making opposition*. With the like apathy does the same republican general observe, that *at Wexford the slaughter was almost as great as at Drogheda*. Wexford was betrayed by colonel Stafford, whom Ormond had appointed Governor of the Castle.

Cromwell
marches to
the South.

The situation of Ireland was at this juncture lamentably distracted. The confederates were the most numerous and powerful party that hung together. They were odious to Ormond; and Ormond was suspected, dreaded, and detested by them. Cromwell added vigilance and vigour to the terror and dismay of his inhuman severity. The few protestants, who still remained loyal under Ormond, were not unmindful of the encouragement he had given them to go over to the parliamentary rebels. His inability and reluctance to face the enemy encouraged Cromwell to pro-

* The Marquis of Ormond in his letter to the king and lord Byron, says, "that on this occasion Cromwell exceeded himself, and any thing he had ever heard of, in breach of faith and bloody inhumanity; and that the cruelties exercised there for five days after the town was taken, would make as many several pictures of inhumanity as are to be found in the Book of Martyrs, or in the relation of Amboyna." 2 C. Orm. 84. Pity it was, that Ormond had not been as prompt to check the progress of Cromwell with his sword, as he was to describe his inhumanity with his pen. According to Dr. Anderson, *Boy. Gen.* 786, Cromwell made his soldiers believe, that "the Irish ought to be dealt with as the Canaanites in Joshua's time."

ceed to the South : his success in this progress was chequered. Ross surrendered on conditions. ^{1650.}  Duncannon resisted under the valiant Wogan, and with the aid of Lord Castlehaven obliged Ireton to raise the siege. Inchiquin, the peculiar confidant of Ormond, was defeated by Cromwell, and Ormond was forced to retreat to Kilkenny. Cromwell failed in two attacks upon Waterford *. He surprized Carrick-upon-Suir : and retired from Kilkenny on his first approach, upon receiving information, that one Tickle, through whose treachery the place was to have been surrendered to him, had been detected and hanged two days before his troops had arrived before the town. The winter was now set in, and Cromwell, whose army was not in a situation to return for winter quarters to Dublin, and who was so little of a general as not to have provided for this imperious exigency of an exterminating army in an hostile country, found relief in perfidy, which, next to inhumanity, he mostly throve by. Through the secret efforts of Broghill, whom Cromwell had seduced from his allegiance and honour, the whole protestant army of Inchiquin, in whose possession all the chief towns of Munster then were,

* The citizens of Waterford had the utmost mistrust of Ormond. They refused to admit his soldiers into the garrison, or even permit them to be lodged in huts under the walls. It is reported, that in a solemn council of the corporation, it was proposed to seize the person of Ormond, and declare all, who served under him enemies. Such was the horror, in which he was holden by the generality of the Irish confederates.

1650. at once revolted, and admitted the regicide troops as friends and allies. Here they safely wintered.

Siege and
surrender of
Kilkenny.

In the month of February they again took the field, and commenced the siege of Kilkenny. The garrison of that place had been reduced by the plague from 1200 to 450 men, the command of whom had been left to Sir Walter Butler by Lord Castlehaven, who had been urged to retire from the danger of that pestilential infection *. Yet they defended themselves with such determined resolution, that the English general was about to raise the siege, when the mayor and citizens advised him secretly to persevere. He renewed the assault, and the city and castle surrendered on honourable terms; Cromwell condescending to applaud them for the bravery of their defence. The town of Kilkenny was the property of Ormond, and every magistrate and citizen in it his creature. Cromwell, finding that his troops made no progress in Ireland, but by treachery or cruelty, resolved to leave them to his generals, who certainly had more military skill than himself. He gave out that he was summoned to England to head the army against a threatened invasion by the Scots in favor of the young Charles Stuart. When he sailed from Dublin, he deputed the command of his English forces to Ireton, to lead them against Ormond and the confederates. Most of the strong holds and fortresses in Munster successively surrendered to the rebel forces under Ireton. One of the last public acts

* Of this same plague the rebel general Ireton died at Limerick, on the 26th of November, 1651.

of Ormond was to consent to the appointment of the Rev. Ever M'Mahon, the titular bishop of Clogher, to command the confederated catholic troops in the North. The mitre gave no military skill, and they were utterly routed near Letterkenny by a very inferior force under the renegado Coote. The Bishop militant was taken in the pursuit, and executed as a traitor to the regicide power. 1650.

So grossly inconsistent with the late peace was Charles' II. subscription to the covenant, as well as Ormond's insidious favor to the covenanters; so justly suspicious was the uniform failure of every measure of Ormond against the regicides, that many of the principal confederates, with a large party of their clergy, assembled at James-Town, and in order to hinder their people from closing with the Parliament, determined, that the clergy should, as they actually did, publish an excommunication against all such catholics as should enlist under, feed, help, or adhere to his Excellency *; or assist him with men, money, or any

Proceeding
of the con-
federates at
James-
Town.

* Clarendon, who in all things defends Ormond, says in his History of the Irish Rebellion, that all the sober professors of the catholic religion abhorred these proceedings at James-Town. It is true, that the catholics generally remained firm in their duty to the King and his lieutenant. But if there were any differences in the confederates upon this excommunication, it arose out of one of these two causes; either the impropriety of resorting to this species of spiritual weapon in temporal warfare, (especially after the imprudent conduct of the Nuncio,) or because the conduct of the lord-lieutenant was so profligately contradictory to what they knew to be the duty, and believed to be the real disposition, of the King, that they considered him as no longer represent-

1650.

Other supplies whatever : but lest their loyalty to their constitutional monarch should be suspected, they involved in the same sentence of excommunication all such catholics as should adhere to the common enemies of God, their King, and country : or should any ways help, assist, abet, or favor them, by bearing arms for or with them. Under the then existing circumstances, the observance of the late peace was the only security of the confederates for their religion, liberty, lives, and fortunes.

Desperate
state of Ire-
land.

Ormond was either unable or unwilling to oppose the rebel powers in Ireland. Having no other means of supporting the Royal cause, than the arms of the confederated catholics, he chose rather to give up the cause of his master, than co-operate with them in restoring it. He had long obtained* leave to deposit the

ing, but opposing, the first executive magistrate, to whom they had sworn allegiance, and who had himself sworn to preserve the laws and constitution of the realm.

* The conduct of Ormond is represented in such opposite extremes, that it is only safe to rest upon uncontroverted facts, or his own words. Leland, and most historians that have followed him, (Vol. III. 60), represent Ormond as necessitated from unavoidable pressures upon the royal party, to obtain the King's permission to retire from Ireland, and that he quitted it in consequence of these proceedings of the confederates and clergy at James-Town in September, 1650 ; whereas, on the 24th of the preceding December he had written to the King, and on the second of the ensuing February had obtained license to withdraw himself and his authority from the kingdom, if he should see occasion. So little, indeed, did the excommunication of the clergy at James-Town immediately occasion this resolution in Ormond to quit the country, that, in a letter written above ten months before that time, he

royal authority with the Earl of Clanricarde, in whose ^{1651.} loyalty and uprightness the Irish, with good reason, confided. Clanricarde had often remonstrated with Ormond upon his conduct, which tended so powerfully to alienate the affections of the nation from the royal cause: and when, on Ormond's embarking for France, he received the skeleton of government from him, he declared the utter impossibility of effecting any thing essential to the service of his Royal Master *. Whilst the King remained in the hands of the Scots, he dared not openly avow the treaty, which had by his own desire been opened with the Duke of Lorraine, to re-establish the royal authority in Ireland, yet he did all he privately could to forward it; but no sooner was he out of their hands, than he wrote† to his Highness

said, that the disappointment of a successful army, and other circumstances, began to breed in them such aversion "*to myself*, (these are his words) to whom all their misfortunes, the negligence, " cowardice and treachery of others are attributed, that I am told, " that it was again in agitation with the violent party of the clergy " and others, set on by Lord Antrim, to procure a protestation " against my government." Col. Or. Pa. Vol. II. 419, 420. Ormond had been long conscious of the people's mistrust of him, and he well knew that it was not without reason; for he says of his catholic countrymen, " If they should be got forth (perhaps " with church censures) it would be with despair, not hope of " success, whilst they suspected the leader of having made condi- " tions for himself upon their ruin."

* The account which Clanricarde gives of the state of Ireland, on the 15th April, 1651, is an honourable and unquestionable proof of the unshaken loyalty of the nation in the last extreme, *Clan. Mem.* p. 24. for which, vide Appendix, No. XXXVI. to my *Historical Review*.

† For this letter, vide App. No. XXXVII.

1651. from Paris, to solicit his and the assistance of other catholic Princes against their and his own enemies. Even Ormond, once more secure from personal danger, finding his royal master the dupe, as his father had been the victim, of his bigotted reluctance to permit the sovereign to avail himself of the services and attachment of his catholic subjects, now recommended the sending *fitting ministers, and proposing apt inducements* * to the Pope himself, for his interposition with catholic princes, and to enable the King's catholic subjects of Ireland to make head against the rebels.

Perseverance of the Irish in the royal cause.

The Irish nation has been upbraided with too hasty submission to the arms of Cromwell †. Orrery himself allows "that the Irish catholics were the last in the "three kingdoms that laid down their arms, and "gave over fighting for the royal cause." ‡ Propositions were received from the parliamentary general, offering the citizens of Limerick the free exercise of their religion, the enjoyment of their estates, churches, and church livings; a free trade and commerce, without any garrison to be imposed upon them, provided they would allow his forces to march through their city into the county of Clare. They rejected the propositions§, though far more favorable than any

* Ca. Col. Pa. Vol. I. 461.

† Reply to a Person of Quality, p. 50.

‡ 3 Lel. 370.

§ The only disposition that appeared in any part of the nation to favour the rebels, was in the readiness of the peasantry to supply their camp with provisions. Cromwell issued a proclamation, forbidding his army, under pain of death, to hurt any of the inha-

that had been granted or even promised by the King or his lieutenant. Whilst the general assembly, which had been convened by Ormond was still sitting at Loughrea, under Clanricarde, the regicides made very favorable overtures to them for an accommodation. "The consequence of it was, (says Carte,) an excommunication denounced by the bishops, and a proclamation issued out by the deputy, upon the advice of the assembly, against all persons, that either served in the army of the rebels, or entertained any treaty with, or made any submission to them, declaring them guilty of high treason, and punishable with death, unless within twenty-one days they quitted the service of and left off all communication with the rebels."

1681.



When Ormond resigned the government into the hands of Clanricarde, all Ireland * except the province

Seizure of the royal authority, and transplantation to Connaught.

bitants, or take any thing from them without paying for it in ready money. Under this proclamation, even on his march to Drogheda, he ordered two soldiers to be hanged in the face of the army for having stolen two hens from a cottager. Under this security, and the false assurances of his officers, that they were fighting for the liberties of the commons, and that every body should thereafter enjoy their own religion and property in freedom, his camp was constantly better supplied than the army of Ormond, whose passage through the country was more dreaded by the peasantry than that of a ferocious enemy.

* Clan. Mem. p. 56, where this nobleman's portrait of the distresses of the remaining loyalists in Ireland, at that time, contradicts the accounts of Borlase, and others of that description of writers, and is an honourable testimony of the persevering loyalty of the Irish confederates.

1651. Connaught, the county of Clare, the city of Limerick, and town of Galway, was either in the possession or under the contribution of the regicides. Connaught and Clare were for the most part waste. The King had invested the Queen and his brother the Duke of York, then at Paris, with full powers to treat with the Duke of Lorraine, and with their approbation, and the strong recommendation even of Ormond, that treaty was entered upon. It failed, however, in its execution, and Clanricarde, no longer able to support the troops he could command, threw himself into the town of Carrick, where, "being * encompassed," says Ludlow, "by our men on all sides, he submitted, and obtained liberty to transport himself with 3,000 men to any foreign country in friendship with the commonwealth, within the space of three months." In the year 1652, Clanricarde left Ireland, carrying with him the royal authority, says Borlase,† and within a twelvemonth after, "Mortagh O'Bryen, the last of the Irish commanders, submitted to the parliament on the usual terms of transportation, by the favor of which 27,000 men had been that year sent away." War, and its baleful consequences, famine and pestilence, had so reduced the population of that

* Lud. Mem. 408. This method of clearing the country of its military strength, which the regicides despaired of gaining over to their party, had been so successfully practised by the Cromwellians, that Dalrymple (Mem. Vol. I. 267), says "Cromwell, in order to get free of his enemies, did not scruple to transport 40,000 Irish from their own country."

† Borl. Ir. Reb.

unfortunate country *, that, according to Clarendon, Cromwell's council seriously thought of the utter extirpation of the whole nation. But, finding more difficulty in the execution of this sanguinary project, than they were at first aware of, and sensible that it would carry with it somewhat of horror, they devised the following expedient of transplantation, which they called *an Act of Grace*. The whole native population of Ireland, that professed the religion of their ancestors, were driven in herds into Connaught and Clare, then a desolated waste, and a proclamation was published, that if, after the first of March, 1654, any Irish catholic, man, woman, or child, should be found in any other part of the kingdom, they might be killed by any person, who should meet them, without charge or trial. Arbitrary allotments of these wasted lands were made, though some attention were pretended to be had to the proportion of the possessions of which individuals had been elsewhere divested; but the merciful donative was fettered with an insidious obligation, of releasing and renouncing for themselves and their representatives for ever, whatever estates and property they or their ancestors had possessed. Thus were these scanty wrecks of the native Irish made martyrs to royalty, and penned up like hunted beasts in the devastated wilds of Connaught, hardly existing in the gregarious and promiscuous possession and cultivation of the soil, without the means of

* Borlase says, that in the summer of 1650, 17,000 persons died of the plague in Dublin.

1653. acquiring live or dead stock, and wanting even the necessary utensils of husbandry. This tyrannical appropriation of the soil of Connaught and Cl re, went to divest the possessors of their inheritances, as much as if their estates had been situated without the precincts of this proscription. It is singular, that this atrocious conduct of Cromwell should have been represented as necessary or useful policy, to be gratefully supported and commended by authors of respectability, from the days of the restored monarch Charles II. down to the most prominent engine of the late Union, the Earl of Cl re*.

* It might be more orderly to reserve observations upon the conduct of Charles II. towards his Irish subjects, with reference to their forfeited estates, to the ensuing chapter. It cannot, however, be irrelevant to the severity and injustice of Cromwell towards the Irish, to notice the speech of Lord Cl re in the Irish house of peers on the 10th of February, 1800, in recommending the Union. He did not scruple to assert, that *it would have been an act of gross injustice on the part of the King to have overlooked the interest of Cromwell's soldiers and adventurers, who had been put into possession of the confiscated lands in Ireland.* And on the same occasion that affected patriot drew the following picture of his country :

“ After a fierce and bloody contest for eleven years, in which the face of the whole island was desolated, and its population nearly extinguished by war, pestilence and famine, *the insurgents* were subdued, and suffered all the calamities which could be inflicted on the vanquished party in a long contested civil war. This was a civil war of extermination. Cromwell's first act was to collect all the native Irish, who had survived the general desolation and remained in the country, and to transplant them into the province of Connaught, which had been depopulated and

The assumption by Cromwell of the sole authority of Protector * of the commonwealth of England, Scotland, and Ireland, with a council of twenty-one, produced little change in the administration of the affairs of Ireland. Ludlow opposed the proclamation of the protectorate. It was carried through the interest of Fleetwood only by one voice. Ludlow never would sign the orders for the proclamation, and he quitted

1654.

Cromwell
protector.
Its effect on
Ireland.

laid waste in the progress of the rebellion. They were ordered to retire thither by a certain day, and forbidden to repass the Shannon on pain of death: and this sentence of deportation was rigidly enforced until the restoration. Their ancient possessions were seized and given up to the conquerors, as were the possessions of every man, who had taken a part in the rebellion, or followed the fortune of the King after the murder of Charles I. This whole fund was distributed amongst the officers and soldiers of Cromwell's army, in satisfaction of the arrears of their pay, and amongst the adventurers, who had advanced money to defray the expenses of the war. And thus a new colony of new settlers, composed of all the various sects which then infested England, independents, anabaptists, seceders, brownists, soci-nians, millenarians, and dissenters of every description, many of them infected with the leaven of democracy, poured into Ireland, and were put into possession of the ancient inheritance of its inhabitants."

* William Sampson, esq. published at New York, in 1807, some very interesting memoirs and original letters relating to the latter troubles in Ireland, together with a short sketch of the History of Ireland, in octavo. He has thus compendiously and impartially spoken of Cromwell, p. 319: "Never was this title of *Protector* more undeserved, at least in Ireland. His hatred to the Irish was threefold. He hated them from bigotry, because *they did not seek the Lord*. He hated them because they were *loyal to that King, whose head he cut off*. And he hated them because they had *commodious seats for habitations*."

1654. the city, when it was made, at the end of a fortnight's contest among the commissioners, and resolved to hold his own military authority of lieutenant-general of the horse, which he had received from the parliament, till it should be taken from him by force. Ireland was, in fact, the fund which the leaders of the regicide party looked to, as the immediate and most sure source of remuneration and emolument. According to Clarendon, Cromwell had reserved to himself a large slice of the province of Munster, including the whole county of Tipperary, as a demesne for the state, in which no adventurer or soldier was to have an assignment. According to a proposal made by Broghill, in council, a survey of the whole country was made: the best land was rated at four shillings, and some only at a penny, per acre. Upon the surface of the country thus appraised, the soldiers drew lots for the portions to be assigned them in lieu of the arrears of their pay. Enormous abuses were committed by having whole baronies surveyed in gross, and then employing their own surveyors to make admeasurements, that were conclusive. The persons, who had been the most conspicuously instrumental in the murder of the King, were most favored in these allotments. It was arbitrary in the surveyors to report lands unprofitable, and such were thrown *gratis* into the allotment. The lands distributed amongst the soldiers, which were returned as unprofitable into the surveyors' office amounted to 605,670 Irish acres*.

* The Irish exceeds the English acre by one-fifth. Lord An.

As the native relicks of the Irish people were thus expatriated in their own island, divided from the protected inhabitants, and secluded from the active and passive powers of seduction or turbulence, it should seem as if the commissioners of that unfortunate country wanted objects to exercise their ferocity upon. Yet, by proclamation, they re-published, and required the severest observance of the act of Elizabeth, by which every catholic priest was to be hanged, drawn, and quartered: to which they afterwards superadded the rigor of making the private exercise of the catholic religion a capital offence, and the non-discovery of a priest confiscation of property and death. They set the price of five pounds on the head of a priest and a wolf, and the production of the head equally entitled the beheader to the reward*. These extraordinary cruelties could only be practised upon the unfortunate catholics in Connaught. The rest of the inhabitants of Ireland were protestants of some denomination, or new proprietors, neither Irish nor catholic†.

1657.
Increased
severities
upon the
Irish.

trim's estate, consisting of 10,761 acres, was allotted to Sir John Clotworthy, afterwards Lord Massarene, and some few, whose adventures and pay did not in all exceed 7,000*l.* 2 Ca. Orm. 270.

* Presuming the features of each to be equally distinguishable, this was but illustrating the old maxim of English law, that an outlaw *caput gerit lupinum*.

† Morrison, a protestant author by no means favorable to the catholics, who was an eye-witness of these scenes, says, "Neither the Israelites were more cruelly persecuted by Pharoah, nor the innocent infants by Herod, nor the christians by Nero, or any other pagan tyrants, than were the Roman catholics of Ireland, at that fatal juncture, by these savage commissioners."

1658.



Adminis-
tration of
Henry
Cromwell.

Henry, the second son of Oliver Cromwell, fortunately for this exhausted country, possessed the government of it nearly four years, partly during the life of his father, and partly during that of his brother Richard. His humane disposition preserved Ireland from the further severity of the protector's council. His behaviour was attractive, and his conduct so pure, that when he was recalled from his government, in 1659, he could not command money sufficient to defray the expenses of his journey to England. * Broghill and Coote had for several years presided over Munster; they hated and vied with each other in their ostensible zeal for the regicide party: each looked through different views to the readiest means of providing for a change in politics, which, from the death of Oliver Cromwell, on the third of September, 1658, grew daily more probable. Both of them contrived to be appointed commissioners of the government under the army, in the year 1660, when the Interregnum ceased, and Charles II. was restored to the crowns of England, Scotland, and Ireland.

* Broghill, according to his own biographist and panegyrist, Morrice, proposed, in the council under Richard Cromwell, to purge the army by expelling all, who should refuse to swear to support the establishment of Protector and Parliament; and, within a very few months before the restoration of Charles, he wrote to Secretary Thurloe, to refute and disclaim the representations made in England, that he was endeavouring to set up for himself, by making Ireland a back-door to let Charles Stuart into England, and thereby at one blow to cut up by the roots the precious rights, they had been so long contending for.

CHAPTER VIII.

The Reign of Charles II.

THE different circumstances, which in different parts of the British empire, led to the immediate restoration of King Charles II. although nearly simultaneous, were more fortuitous than systematic. It is evident, that the Irish could have had little concern and less influence in bringing it to bear, than any other part of the King's subjects. The whole Irish nation, properly so called, was at this time confined in Connaught and Clare, secluded from the interests of the other parts of the British dominions, and debarred by sanguinary and rigorously executed laws from any communication with their fellow-subjects. The population, which occupied the three other provinces of Ireland, must have constituted so motley, discordant, and interested a group, as is scarcely to be described. Ingenuity cannot devise a character, from the highest to the lowest, which could set up any other pretension than that of having opposed the regal authority, of having assumed the native property by invasion, intrusion, or adventure, or of having acquired an indefinite right to a distributive share of the kingdom from military service under the parliament, commonwealth, regicides, and protectorate. It is morally impossible, that even a remote tincture of patriotism,

1660.

Charles II.
restored.

1660.

loyalty, or attachment to Ireland, could have inspired the conduct of an individual, then resident in any part of the island, out of Connaught and Clare, in any effort to effectuate the restoration.

Richard
dissolves
the Parlia-
ment.

The contentions between the parliament and the army drove Richard Cromwell to dissolve the parliament, which, in fact, put an end to his protectorate, which had lasted only seven months and twenty days. His character was the very reverse of that of his father. After the protector had, at the instigation of Broghill, dissolved the council of officers, with a degree of resolution that was not expected from him, the lords Howard, Broghill, and others, plainly apprized Richard, that the heads of these officers continued to hold secret meetings, which not only put his power but his person in danger; that Fleetwood and his party were to be crushed only by a bold stroke, and that, if he would properly empower them, all his enemies should be forced to obedience, or be cut off. The protector startled at the proposition, and answered in consternation. He thanked them for their friendship, but * “that he
“neither had done nor would do any person any harm,
“and that rather than a drop of blood should be spilt
“on his account, he would lay down that greatness,
“which was a burthen to him.” Henceforward, Broghill, sensible of the decline of the power of the Cromwells, to whom he had rendered such signal services, and from whom he had received such personal obligations, threw himself with vehemence into

* Budget's Mem. of the Boyle Family, p. 76.

the tide, which he saw on the turn. From that time he was as prominently forward in promoting, as he had lately been in opposing, the return of the Stuarts. Though personally inimical to Sir Charles Coote, who had heretofore never agreed with him but in savage zeal to oppress the native Irish, and support the interests of Cromwell, he engaged him to second his efforts for the restoration of Charles, as the most promising means of advancing and securing their own interests.

1660.

Even the population of the three provinces, constituted as it then was of an heterogeneous mixture, being wearied of so many alterations and changes, and despising the weakness of the distracted government, began to incline to a restoration of the old order of things. This popular disposition favored the views of Broghill and Coote; they artfully manœuvred the advantage that presented itself, and so modelled the armed forces under their respective commands in Munster and Ulster, as to send an assurance of effectual co-operation with Monck, who was then in Scotland *. Coote seized upon the castle at Dublin,

Charles pre-
claimed
throughout
Ireland.

* That self-interest actuated all the actions of these time-serving adventurers, Broghill and Coote, is evident from their conduct to their sovereign, to each other, and to the country. No sooner had Broghill communicated his intentions to Coote, than Coote took the advantage of him by sending over Sir Arthur Forbes to the King at Bruxelles, with special instructions to depreciate Broghill, and to assume the whole merit of having first put the plan for his Majesty's restoration into motion in Ireland; and to magnify the difficulties he had surmounted, in bringing the re-

1660.

and the persons of those who under the parliamentary commission then exercised the powers of government, which continued in the form the commissioners thought most agreeable to the presbyterian system, until the restoration of Charles II. when Monck was declared lord-lieutenant of Ireland; soon after which, the King was proclaimed at Dublin, and in every other part of the kingdom.

Persevering
loyalty of
the Irish.

The cause of royalty had been publicly supported in Ireland three years longer than in any other part of his Majesty's dominions. It was, therefore, natural that the restoration of the Stuart family to the throne should be more sensibly felt by the Irish, who had survived the successive disasters of war, famine, pestilence, and proscriptive exile into Connaught and Clare, than by any other of his Majesty's subjects. The duration and severity of the sufferings of the Irish for the cause of royalty were unprecedented, as they were unmerited. The perseverance of these martyrs to royalty, it would be natural to suppose, would have moved

luctant Broghill to acquiesce in the attempt. In consequence of which, when Broghill went to England to congratulate his Majesty upon his return, he was received by Charles with a stern coldness, for which he could not at first account, having been apprized of the gracious reception of Coote. He, however, effectually counteracted the first impressions of the King, by conveying to his Majesty, through his brother Lord Shannon, the original letter of Sir Charles Coote to him, which contained the following words: "Remember, my Lord, that you first put me upon the design, and I beseech you, forsake me not in that which you have first put me upon, which was to declare for King and parliament." (Budg. Mem. 87.)

the sympathy and challenged the justice of the restored monarch. But Charles was a Stuart, and the Irish were his most staunch, persevering, and therefore suffering friends. If ever Ireland had a call of gratitude upon the crown of England, it was at the restoration of Charles II.; and if any period since the invasion of Henry II. be distinguishable for the sufferings of the Irish nation, it was the moment when Charles II. immolated them to the treachery and rapacity of his own and his father's enemies. Such was, however, the force of prejudice against the Irish, who resisted the usurpation of Cromwell almost to extirpation, and spent their last blood and treasure in supporting the royal cause, that by the first legislators after the restoration, the rebellious regicides were established and confirmed in the wages of their sanguinary usurpation. Thus basely and inhumanly were the crimes of one kingdom compromised by the forfeitures of the other.

1669.

Of all the leading men in Ireland, none had given more virulently into the usurpation of Cromwell than Broghill and Coote. During the whole Interregnum they continued presidents of Munster and Connaught; they had been the occasion of taking away more lives in cold blood from the year 1641, than any other men in Ireland, if we except the orders of Cromwell at Drogheda and Wexford. They turned, as we have seen, with the tide; and Charles, in the full glow of his family passion for rewarding his enemies, created Broghill Earl of Orrery, and Coote Earl of Mon-

Broghill
created Earl
of Orrery,
Coote Earl
of Mon-
trath.

1661. trath, and appointed them lords justices of Ireland *.

Combina-
tion of pow-
er against
the Irish ca-
tholics.

Sir Maurice Eustace (an old and particular friend of the Marquis of Ormond, says Carte) was at the same time, by the recommendation of Ormond, made lord high chancellor. By the advice, management, and contrivance of these four persons, (all determined enemies to the Irish catholics) was the whole settlement of that kingdom conducted. Commissioners were sent by this party to the King to forward their grand design, which was to call a new parliament, into which no catholic either peer or commoner should be admitted. It was their intent to grant a general pardon and indemnity to all protestants, to secure all the Cromwellians in their possessions, and effectually to prevent the Irish from recovering their estates.

Meeting of
the first par-
liament un-
der Charles
II. and how
constituted.

The parliament, which was convened on the eighth of May, 1661, was so constituted †, as to command

* " These two earls had been, says Clarendon, eminently against the King : but upon this turn, when all other powers were down, were eminently for him. But the King had not then power to chuse any, against whom some as material objections might not be made. With them there were too many others, upon whom honours were conferred ; upon some, that they might do no harm, who were thereby enabled to do the more." *Clar. Life*, Vol. II. p. 219.

† This House of Commons consisted of 260 members, of which all but 64 were burgesses : and Cromwell had filled all the corporations throughout the kingdom with his own creatures. In the House of Peers there were about twenty-one catho-

by a decided majority whatever measure might be proposed for carrying these expedients into effect: but in order the more surely to effectuate their purpose, and to prevent even a debate on the question, all catholic members, though not at that time disqualified from sitting and voting in parliament, were excluded by the self-assumed power of each house: the commons having passed a resolution "that no member should be qualified to sit in their house, but such as had taken the oaths of allegiance and supremacy:" and the speaker of the house of peers (Bramhall, Archbishop of Armagh) having proposed another, which passed their house, "that all the members thereof should receive the sacrament of the Lord's Supper from his Grace's own hands,"

1661.

With the like view of preventing the Irish catholics from sending over agents to England to oppose or counteract the state commissioners, as they were then called, who were soliciting the English parliament to except the Irish catholics out of the act of oblivion and general pardon, the convention at Dublin put in execution all the severe laws and ordinances made by the usurper, by which the catholics were prevented from going from one province to another to transact their business. Such as had the more considerable estates were imprisoned: all their letters to and from the capital were intercepted: the gentry were forbidden to meet, and thereby deprived of the means

Modes of
preventing
the catho-
lics from
redress.

lic and seventy-two protestant peers, besides twenty-four bishops: their list, as it stood in 1688, may be seen Appendix, No. XXXIX.

1661. of agreeing upon agents to take care of their interests, and of an opportunity to represent their grievances at the foot of the throne. The stale device of contriving new popish conspiracies and rebellions was resorted to, in order to alarm the English parliament into the measures of excluding the Irish catholics from the general pardon*, and quieting protestant possessions in Ireland. Charles published a proclamation for apprehending and prosecuting all Irish rebels, (a term now generally adopted as synonymous with Irish catholics) and commanding, that adventurers, soldiers, and others, who were possessed of any lands, should not be disturbed in their possessions, until legally evicted, or his Majesty, by advice of parliament, should take further order therein. Carte, Leland, and indeed all our historians agree, that the most aggravated, extravagant, and unfounded reports against the Irish were brought to England, there received with avidity, and circulated with every accumulation of inventive selfishness and malice, by incredible numbers of projectors, suitors, sufferers, claimants, solicitors, pretenders, and petitioners, who thronged the court, and looked to the Irish forfeitures as the sure fund for realizing their various speculations. Such, however,

* These reports were artfully and maliciously set afloat from the circumstance, which certainly had then frequently occurred, of persons, deprived of their estates by the usurpers of the regal power, attempting to re-enter their former possessions, without the tedious, costly, and precarious process of law, the old possessors having thus generally ejected the Cromwellian intruders throughout England. Car. Orm, vol. II. p. 398.

was the effect produced by these manœuvres, that the state commissioners from Ireland successfully petitioned both houses of parliament in England to exclude the Irish catholics, by a special clause, from the general pardon and indemnity. For upon a motion being made in the house of peers, that this petition should be rejected, and the Irish included in the general indemnity, the Duke of Ormond opposed it, alleging, *that his Majesty had reserved the cognizance of that matter to himself*, though it were notorious, that the King but some days before in his speech to parliament had informed them, "that he expected (in relation to the Irish) they would have a care of his honour, and of the promise he had made them*." They were accordingly excluded, to their ruin, the exultation and triumph of their enemies, and the astonishment of all impartial men.

Ormond resumed the government of Ireland, and by him† were framed and settled the King's declara-

Ormond resumes the government of Ireland. His conduct towards the catholics.

* Viz. Explicitly from Breda through the Marquis of Ormond. "That he would perform all grants and concessions, which he had either made or promised them by that peace: and which, as he had new instances of their loyalty and affection to him, he should study rather to enlarge, than diminish or infringe in the least degree."

† Ormond has generally received the credit of these acts; but it is more probable, that they were prepared by Orrery under the direction and approbation of Ormond. Budgell says, (Mem. 110.) "The Lord Orrery, some time before the meeting of parliament, drew up with his own hand the famous *Act of Settlement*, which afterwards passed: in which he not only took care to establish the protestant interest, but that many Roman catholics should be restored to their estates, whose behaviour seemed to merit that indulgence. When that act passed, it was looked upon as drawn up

1661.

tion, the acts of settlement and explanation, and by him was made out the list of the persons excepted by name* out of the ruinous effects of that act. By him was recommended the Court of Claims, and by his influence were appointed the first members of it, whose venality and corruption were too rank even for their patron to countenance. He then substituted men of real respectability to fill their places; but so stinted them in their time for going through the claims of the dispossessed proprietors, (notwithstanding the few cases under which their innocency was to be admitted) that when they applied for an enlargement of time, in order to go through several thousands of unheard claims, Ormond opposed the application, and rejected a clause in the bill for the relief of these unheard claimants†.

with great skill and address, though the judges afterwards, by the partial interpretation they put upon it, gave too much reason for clamour and complaints." One spirit actuated Ormond and Orrery towards Ireland. As to Cromwell, they in part differed. Orrery served under him. Ormond recommended all his protestant soldiers to do the same; and received money from him for surrendering Dublin and other good services rendered to him. Ormond oppressed the Irish catholics in the name of and against the will of the King. Orrery oppressed them under an usurpation and abuse of the royal authority.

* They are about 500 in all; and being the leaders of the traduced party, their acknowledged innocence takes off the guilt of those who acted with or under them.

† So sensible was Ormond at this time of the injustice he was working against his countrymen, whom he hated on account of their religion, that he thus expressed himself on the subject to Clarendon: (C. O. vol. III.) "If you look upon the composition

The representation of this transaction made by the late Earl of Clare in the last parliament of Ireland is the more singular, as it immediately follows his opinion, that Cromwell's conduct in Ireland was essentially advantageous to the British empire. "But," says his lordship, "admitting the principle of this declaration in its fullest extent, it is impossible to defend the acts of settlement and explanation, by which it was carried into effect*.

1661.

Lord Clare's
representation
of the
Act of Set-
tlement, &c.

"The act of settlement professes to have for its object the execution of his majesty's gracious declaration for the settlement of his kingdom of Ireland, and the satisfaction of the several interests of adventurers, soldiers, and other his subjects there; and after reciting the rebellion, the enormities committed in the progress of it, and the final reduction of the rebels, by the king's English and protestant subjects, by a general sweeping clause vests in the king, his heirs, and successors, all estates real and personal, of every kind whatsoever in the kingdom of Ireland, which at any time from the 21st of October, 1641, were seized and sequestered into the hands, or to the use of Charles I. or the then king, or otherwise dis-

of this council and parliament, you will not think it probable, that the settlement of Ireland can be made with much favour or indeed reasonable regard to the Irish. If it be, it will not pass: and if it be not, we must look for all the clamour that can be raised by undone men." The ingratitude and injustice of this conduct to the Irish was too glaring for Ormond not to wish to throw the odium of it upon his creatures. The whole of it was known to and approved of by the hypocritical Clarendon.

* Speech of Lord Clare on the Union, 1800.

1661. posed of, set out, or set apart, by reason or on account of the rebellion, or which were allotted, assigned, or distributed, to any person or persons for adventures, arrears, reprisals, or otherwise, or whereof any soldier, adventurer, or other person was in possession for or on account of the rebellion. And having thus, in the first instance, vested three fourths of the lands and personal property of the inhabitants of this island in the king, commissioners are appointed with full and exclusive authority, to hear and determine all claims upon the general fund, whether of officers and soldiers for arrears of pay, of adventurers who had advanced money for carrying on the war, or of innocent papists, as they are called, in other words, of the old inhabitants of the island, who had been dispossessed by Cromwell, not for taking a part in the rebellion against the English crown, but for their attachment to the fortunes of Charles I.; but with respect to this class of sufferers, who might naturally have expected a preference of claim, a clause is introduced, by which they are postponed, after a decree of innocence by the commissioners, until previous reprisals shall be made to Cromwell's soldiers and adventurers who had obtained possession of their inheritance. I will not detain the house with a minute detail of the provisions of this act: but I wish gentlemen, who call themselves the dignified and independent Irish nation, to know, that seven millions eight hundred thousand acres of land were set out, under the authority of this act, to a motley crew of English adventurers, civil and military, nearly to the total exclusion of the

old inhabitants of the island. Many of the latter class, ^{1661.} who were innocent of the rebellion, lost their inheritance, as well from the difficulties imposed upon them by the Court of Claims, in the proofs required of their innocence, as from a deficiency in the fund for reprisals to English adventurers, arising principally from a profuse grant made by the crown to the Duke of York. The parliament of Ireland, having made this settlement of the island in effect on themselves, granted an hereditary revenue to the crown, as an indemnity for the forfeitures thus relinquished by Charles II."

Facts alone can determine Ormond's conduct to his king and countrymen. When the sympathy and justice of his royal master balanced between the claims of the English protestants and the Irish catholics, Ormond's efforts to bias the king in favor of the former, could not fail to be successful with a Stuart, because the latter had been faithful to his interests, and the former enemies of himself and family*. So far was

Self-interested conduct of Ormond.

* Besides the misfortune of a native disposition to pleasure and indolence, and a consequent disrelish of business, Charles the Second was surrounded by plausible and artful men, who at different times, for their own ends, flattered his vices, or imposed upon his understanding, which was unfortunately too subservient to his inordinate passions. The sanctimonious Clarendon, after his disgrace, when men are most capable of reflection, and open to truth, explicitly declared to Sir Henry Brabant, that "there were grievous things laid to his charge; but that he could bear up against all the rest, if his majesty would but forgive him one thing, which was; that he was the person who advised him to prefer his enemies and neglect his friends, since the principle of the latter would secure them to him; adding, that he took that

1661. Ormond from having suffered by these rebellions, insurrections, or civil wars in Ireland, that we read in a letter from the Earl of Anglesey * to the Earl of Castlehaven, published in the latter's memoirs during Ormond's own life (A. D. 1681); "that his grace (he was then raised to the dignity of a duke) † and his family, by the forfeiture and punishment of the Irish, were the greatest gainers of the kingdom, and had

for the cause of his own ruin, and wished it might not occasion that of many others, and at last the king." See this attested, 2 Car. Rev. 106.

* This authority is the stronger by how much the intimacy and friendship of Lord Anglesey were the greater for Ormond; and we are informed by Leland, after Carte, that when the Duke of Buckingham was endeavouring to supplant Ormond in the king's favour, and had made overtures to the Earl of Anglesey for that purpose, the earl rejected these overtures with indignation, and gave Ormond notice of the designs formed against him. 3. Lel. p. 453. In candor, however, we refer the reader to what Ormond himself offers in his justification in a letter to his majesty, with his reasons for quitting the government of Ireland, in the Appendix to my Historical Review, No. XL.

† An anonymous writer, in 1674, in a pamphlet called the *Unkind Deserter*, asserted, that "Ormond's estate before the war cleared but 7000 l. per ann. it was so heavily charged with annuities and leases, but that it was worth 40,000 l. per annum, and that it was at that time (1674) close upon 80,000 l. per annum. Now the first part of his new great revenues is the king's grant of all those lands of his own estates, which were leased or mortgaged; the rest were grants of other men's estates and other gifts of his majesty. His gifts and grants are thought to amount to 630,000 l." p. 161-2. All these gifts were confirmed by parliament. The printer of this pamphlet was imprisoned at the suit of Ormond, but no answer to it was ever attempted. Carte generally confirms this statement.

added to their inheritance vast scopes of land, and a revenue three times greater than what his paternal estate had been before the rebellion, and that most of his increase was out of their estates, who adhered to the peaces of 1646 and 1648, observed under his majesty's ensigns abroad *." ^{1662.}

From the representation of Lord Clare, it appears to have been a duty, barely short of legislative enactment, to throw up the adulatory incense of national gratitude to the shrine of Oliver Cromwell, for having vanquished, oppressed, and persecuted nearly to annihilation, the Roman Catholic inhabitants of Ireland. The act of state which is intituled, *His Majesty's gracious declaration for the settlement of his kingdom of Ireland, and satisfaction of the several interests of adventurers, soldiers, and others his subjects there*, is published amongst the Irish printed statutes †, and is, perhaps, the most laboured piece of insidious and perplexed sophism that ever issued in form of an act of state ‡. Like all policy grounded on treachery and

Unaccountable commendation of Cromwell.

* Whence Castlehaven justly concluded, " that his Grace could not have been very sincere in making either of these peaces with the Irish; but that whatever moved him thereto, whether compassion, natural affection, or any thing else, he was in judgment and conscience against them; and so has he since appeared, and hath advantage by their lying aside." Cas. Mem. *ubi supra*.

† For which vid. vol. II. Irish Statutes, p. 245. It consists of thirty-six very long sections, and bears date the 30th of November, 1660, just six months and one day from the restoration, 29th of May.

‡ Without canvassing its merits, suffice it to observe that it

1662. falsehood, it satisfied none, and offended most. Scarcely is it credible, that the whole property of Ireland at this time depended upon the intrigues of hungry courtiers, interested bigots, and mercenary turncoats, who played into each other's hands, for the undisguised purposes of rewarding treason, defeating merit, and imposing upon base credulity and ingratitude. The spirit of Ormond, Orrery, and their tools, sanctioned by Clarendon, breathes through the whole of this scramble by act of parliament.

Ormond's
influence
upon
Charles II.

The system which had been imagined and fabricated by or under the directions of Ormond, could not fail to create great discontent amongst the catholics. Ormond commanded unchecked sway over the mind of Charles: he was made Lord Lieutenant

was the production of Ormond, Orrery, Montrath, Lord Chancellor Eustace, Sir Audley Mervin, Sir John Clotworthy, and others, who, even Clarendon observes, *had been always notorious for the disservice they had done the King*. The preamble to the first Act of Settlement recites, that "God had given to his Majesty, by and through his English and protestant subjects, absolute victory and conquest over the Irish and popish rebels and enemies, so as that their lives, liberties, and estates, were then wholly at his Majesty's disposition by the laws of that kingdom;" and then with matchless effrontery it continues to recite, that "in his majesty's absence several of his subjects, by whom as instruments the said rebels were subdued, did enquire into the contrivers of the rebellion, and did dispossess such of his Majesty's subjects as they found engaged in such rebellion." Whereas the persons here called rebels fought under Ormond and Clanricarde, the king's lieutenants, against Cromwell, Ireton, Axtel, Hewetson, Jones, Broghill, Coote, and others, sworn enemies of Charles Stuart, royalty, episcopacy, and the constitution.

for the purpose of carrying through the acts of settle-
ment, and the Irish parliament voted him a gratuity
of 30,000*l.* for his good services in this regard. His
son, lord Ossory, was called by writ to the House of
Peers. Under this lieutenancy of Ormond, the Court
of Wards was abolished, and in its lieu was esta-
blished the hateful and oppressive tax upon hearths.

1662.

Although the first commissioners to execute these
acts of settlement were removed on account of their
rank corruption, and had been replaced by men of
generally fair characters, though named by the influ-
ence of Ormond and his adherents, yet the rigorous
and unjust conditions of innocence and nocency were
still kept up. A person, without having taken up
arms, was to be judged nocent for having resided in
a district occupied by the insurgents; but the most
crying badge of nocency was the forced engage-
ment to Cromwell, which his generals imposed un-
der immediate menace of death: an engagement
voluntarily taken by those very generals, who were
rewarded for having taken it by the confiscation of the
estates of those whom they forced to follow their ex-
ample.

Unjust prin-
ciple of the
commission

The time limited for holding the Court of Claims
was a twelvemonth. It sat six months; during which
six hundred only of four thousand claims were heard,
when the commission ended*. And Ormond† pre-

Time of
the com-
mission too
short. Its
enlarge-
ment op-
posed by
Ormond.

* Car. Orm. vol. II. 297.

† Ormond, who probably was conscious of the king's disposi-
tion and secret wishes to favour the catholics, did all he could to

1662.

vented its enlargement, which was urgently pressed by Sir Richard Rainsford, one of the commissioners, a person of great probity and humanity. In so much

raise divisions amongst them, by dividing the clergy upon a punctilious form of oath, by which it was then in contemplation to allow the catholics to express their allegiance to their sovereign. The declaration of the great body of the clergy, which Ormond rejected, may be seen in my Historical Review, App. No. XLI. Not contented with the indignant rejection of the clergy's remonstrance, he ordered them to disperse, and soon after banished them out of the nation; and so rigorously was this effected, that when Ormond quitted the government there were only three catholic bishops remaining in the kingdom; two of them were bed-ridden, and the third kept himself concealed. If the public conduct of great men may be traced to their private feelings and passions, it will here be proper to inform the reader, that Walsh (the historian) who was an apostate Franciscan friar, then under the interdict or excommunication of his own bishop, was the particular favourite, creature, and pensioner of Ormond: that Walsh was the most violent opposer of Talbot, the titular archbishop of Dublin, and the rest of the petitioning and remonstrant clergy. Talbot was the brother of colonel Richard Talbot, (afterwards earl of Tyrconnel) who had been sent to the Tower in London, for having challenged Ormond for duplicity of conduct in relation to the Irish catholics; an agent for whom the colonel was. Ormond, in complaining to the king, asked his Majesty, if it were his pleasure, that at that time of day he should put off his doublet to fight duels with Dick Talbot. This conduct of Ormond towards Talbot did not much raise the duke in the estimation or affection of his countrymen. And the king, who, by dying in the catholic communion, has proved to posterity, that he was long before favourably disposed towards his catholic subjects, could not much relish the severity of Ormond towards them. It is impossible to dissemble the duplicity and fatal pliancy of Charles in every serious duty of the monarch, the christian, and the man. He prostituted political justice to the intrigues of his courtiers and his own love of ease; he postponed

that above 3000 innocent claimants remained to be tried, and were as severely punished, as if they had upon trial been found nocent. "But these," says Carte, "were left to be ruined, merely for the want of that common justice of being heard, which is by all nations allowed to the worst of malefactors." That Ormond was conscious of the impossibility of going through all the claims in so short a time as was allowed by the act, is manifest from his own avowal to Clarendon*. He boasted of his assiduous endeavours to secure a *true protestant English interest*. He desired the speaker of the house of commons to consider how the council and parliament were composed: of his religious convictions to his temporal interests, and drowned reason, uprightness, and honour, in voluptuousness, hypocrisy, and ingratitude.

* Car. Orn. Vol. III. Vide antea, p. 425. The publication of statesmen's letters, though at a remote period, is often productive of great historical justice to the parties, who suffer unjustly from the passion, prejudice, or corruption of men in office, who for the time disguise those personal defects under the impression of official authority. Ormond's own words are the fairest comment upon his conduct. He had written these sentiments to his confidant Clarendon, who unquestionably and most perfidiously sympathized with him in distressing and oppressing the Irish. But Clarendon had more humanity and more hypocrisy than Ormond; who, on the solemn occasion of passing the Explanatory Act, told the parliament, "that it might seem liable to some objections; that whilst he declaimed against the proceedings of these men, yet he undertook to see them ratified;" he added with brutal raillery and insult, "To this I shall only for the present say, that unjust persons may sometimes do justice; and for instance, I will assure you, that Ireton at Limerick, caused some to be hanged that deserved it almost well as himself."

1665. whom the army consisted : who filled the benches and magistracies, and *who were appointed to execute the Acts of Settlement*. They were to a man promoters or abettors of the late usurpation*.

Mischiev-
ous effects
of the act of
settlement,
and expla-
nation.

General discontent was the natural effect of the acts of settlement and explanation. The despoiled catholics attempted no redress beyond complaint, that wretched privilege of sufferers. The deprived or disappointed Cromwellians acquiesced not so tamely. In the year 1662, they openly attempted to seize the Castle of Dublin ; but their efforts were foiled by Ormond. In 1665, their conspiracy was much more extensive and alarming. Under pretence of the gross injustice done to the protestant army and adventurers by the acts of settlement and explanation, a general design was concerted in the three kingdoms to rise at one time, and to set up the long parliament, in which about forty members were engaged. The disbanded soldiers of Cromwell's army were summoned and engaged to serve under their old general Ludlow. The rising was to be on one night, and the bloody resolve was formed to spare none, who should refuse to join in the design of putting down the king, lords, and bishops, and *setting up a sober and peaceful ministry*. By the vigilance of Ormond † this design was seasonably detected. Several

* Ormond's Letter to the Speaker, of 9th of March, 1668. II. Journ. Com. 299.

† "Ormond," says Carte, vol. II. "had spies and intelligencers in every part of Ireland, who served him so well, that there was not the least motion amongst them but it came to his knowledge."

puritan ministers were engaged in it; some of whom were committed to prison, and seven of the members were ignominiously expelled the House of Commons*.

1670.

During all the reign of Charles II. the Irish catholics remained determinately dutiful and loyal; not indeed from any call of gratitude to that monarch, who had so profligately abandoned their interests, but from principle. Their enemies, however, were determined to implicate them right or wrong in some new conspiracy. In this age of plots, when so much innocent blood was spilt in England by means of the perjuries of the notorious Titus Oates and his flagitious associates patronized by Buckingham and Shaftesbury, two of the noted cabal†, the tranquillity of Ireland disappointed and thwarted their views. The utmost severity was intended to be exercised against the Irish catholics, and fresh bills were transmitted by the Irish council for introducing the Test Law, and other penal acts, against them. Here Ormond, who was then in England, for the first time interposed in favour of his country. He had sickened at the rigorous treatment of the Irish on account of their religion: and knowing that any additional severity was disagreeable to Charles, he assumed and boasted of his merit in having pre-

Persevering
loyalty of
the Irish
catholics.

* "Vast sums of money," says Lord Orrery, (Sta. vol. I. 225) "were levied for carrying on this confederacy. They had corrupted the most part of the soldiers, who were to put all that opposed them to the sword."

† The word cabal took its origin from the initials of the five men, who formed that administration, viz. Clifford, Ashley, Buckingham, Arlington, and Lauderdale.

1670: vented these laws from passing. He was a rival and a political enemy of Buckingham and Shaftesbury. Having nearly doubled the value of his patrimonial property from the releases of his debts, gifts of money from Cromwell and the parliament, and grants of fresh lands from the beginning of the troubles in 1641, he became more than ever sensible of the necessity of preventing any causes of disturbance, which might again put in hazard that princely fortune, which he had so improved and increased from the late troubles*.

The cabal
administration.

The plans, projects, and conduct of Charles and his cabal administration, perhaps never will be fully

* Whilst the earl of Essex was lord-lieutenant in 1674, he thus expressed himself upon the subject of Ormonu's gains by the rebellions; "My Lord Duke of Omond has received above three hundred thousand pounds in this kingdom, besides all his great places and emoluments, and I am sure the losses of his private estates have not been equal to those I have suffered (in the preceding civil war,) and yet he is so happy as no exception is taken to it." (St. Let. p. 213. A list of the lands in the several counties of Galway, Kildare, Meath, Dublin, Wexford, Catherlogh, Kilkenny, and Tipperary, with the names of the old proprietors, amounting to 54, of whom 14 were of his own family, of the name of Butler, is to be seen in the App. to Car. Orn. vol. II. p. 132. The like charge was made against Lord Clarendon by Sir Charles Wogan, a nephew of the Duke of Tyrconnel, in a letter written in 1723 to Dean Swift. Swift's Works, vol. XII. p. 315. Lond. ed. 1808. "Though thousands of loyal families had been undone by the rebellion, Clarendon, by imposing on his master's indolence and facility, ordered matters so, that he was the only considerable gainer by the restoration, and made his fortune by perpetuating the distress and unaccountable hard fate of the Cavaliers after the return of their prince."

and fairly disclosed. It appears upon the whole, that there was in agitation a very extensive design concerted with the French monarch for altering the constitutional system of the British government. The prompt and undoubted fidelity of the Irish catholics was, without their knowing it, to have been rendered auxiliary to the execution of the main plan. It was most probably defeated by the discordant principles of the members of the cabal amongst themselves, no less than by the excessive insincerity of the sovereign both to his ministers and to the public. 1679.

Ormond was not a fit tool for the purposes of the cabal: and no other motive could perhaps have instigated him to advocate the cause of his catholic countrymen, but opposition to his political rivals. Now for the first time, he could discover the injustice and impolicy of forcing conscience by sanguinary laws in matters of religion *. He reprobated and resisted the attempts of others to throw fresh severity upon the catholics, whom he had till then, with unrelenting asperity, maltreated, persecuted, and oppressed.

During the remainder of the reign of Charles II. many deep and malicious attempts were set on foot to fix the Irish with fresh plots and insurrections. Plots are the most wicked engines of the worst of ministers. This was the reign of plots†, and plotters were encour-

Change in Ormond's conduct toward his countrymen.

Plots encouraged by the Cabal.

* See his Letter upon this subject to his son the Earl of Arran, which contains very liberal sentiments, which Ormond had uniformly acted against up to that time. Car Orn. vol. I. 535.

† Oates had a pension of 1200l. and apartments at Whitehall.

1680.

~ raged and pensioned. Ormond's biographical panegyrist allows, that at this time * there were too many protestants in Ireland, who wanted another rebellion, that they might increase their estates by new forfeitures ; and letters were perpetually sent to England, misrepresenting the Lord Lieutenants's conduct and the state of things in Ireland. Shoals of the most abandoned miscreants were brought over from Ireland, to swear to plots and conspiracies the most horrid and improbable. These informations were countenanced by the cabal : even Ormond himself was alarmed lest their perjuries might go the length of involving his Grace in some treasonable conspiracy †. The most tragical effect of all these perjured informers was the trial and execution of Oliver Plunkett ‡, the Roman Catholic

He was convicted under James II. of perjury, by the evidence of sixty respectable witnesses ; was fined in 2000 marks, whipped, and pilloried. He was a favourite of King William, with whom he had been intimate in Holland, and who gave him a pension of 400l. for his life. Grainger, Vol. IV. 248.

* Car. Orm. v. II. 482.

† Ormond writes to his son, Lord Arran ; " Though it be manifest, that most of our discoveries give more discredit than confirmation to the plot, it is well that I am not like to be charged for a plotter or a papist."


‡ This venerable prelate was even spoken well of by Ormond on several occasions. A letter from his grace to his son, the Earl of Arran, dated the 29th of December, 1680, shews his opinion upon the case ; " Here is also one Owen Murphy, authorized to search for and carry over witnesses (I suppose) to give evidence against Oliver Plunkett. He has been as far as the county of Tipperary, and brought thence about a dozen people, not likely to say any thing material to Plunkett ; so that I believe he takes

Archbishop of Armagh, a man in universal estimation for his amiable qualities and exemplary conduct. 1681.

Ormond was succeeded by Lord Roberts, and then by the Earl of Essex. He was again taken into favour, ^{Ormond displaced and restored.} and retained the government till the demise of the King. His Majesty had, however, a very short time before his death intimated to Ormond his intention of removing him, and sending over the Earl of Roches-

these upon the account of Eustace Cummins' mad narrative." Ormond in writing to his son with plenitude of confidence, discloses in this very letter to the world, that determined policy of Machiavel, which perhaps he meant to have confined as a secret to his own family. "My aim was," says he, "to work a division amongst the Romish clergy, and I believe I had compassed it to the great security of the government and protestants." He complains also of the indulgence of some, and ignorance of others, who "did not consider the advantages of the division designed." Unhappy government, the security of which rests on the division of his majesty's subjects!

Even Burnett, who will not readily be condemned for his overstrained partiality to the Irish or the papists, has rendered an honourable testimony of Archbishop Plunkett. Hist. of his own Times, Vol. I. 230. "Plunkett was at this time brought to his trial. Some lewd Irish priests and others of that nation, hearing that England was then disposed to hearken to good swearers, thought themselves well qualified for the employment; so they came over to swear, that there was a great plot in Ireland. The witnesses were brutal and profligate men, yet the Earl of Shaftesbury cherished them much; they were examined by parliament at Westminster, yet what they said was believed. Some of these priests had been censured by him for their lewdness. Plunkett had nothing to say in his defence, but to deny all; so he was condemned, and suffered very decently, expressing himself in many particulars as became a bishop; he died, denying every thing, that had been sworn against him."

1685.  ter to replace him. It appears clear, that Ormond's inexorable abhorrence of the Roman Catholics was the King's principal motive for this intention.

Death of
Charles II.

Charles had it in contemplation to call out the services of the Irish army for purposes which have not been explicitly disclosed to posterity. He was then filling it with officers of the catholic persuasion, who had served on the continent; and well knew, that Ormond would oppose that measure. Charles II. died on the 6th of February, 1685; having a short time before his death been formally received into the Roman Catholic church by Father Huddleston, a Benedictine monk, who administered to him the sacraments and other spiritual assistance according to the Roman ritual.

CHAPTER IX.

The Reign of James II.

THE reign of James II. was one of the shortest, though most important, of any since the annexation of Ireland to the crown of England. The confidence of the catholics in both kingdoms had been greatly increased by the rejection of the exclusion bill, and the quiet succession of the Duke of York, who was proclaimed King in London on the very day of his brother's demise, with the usual formalities. Charles, though long predisposed to the Roman catholic religion, ventured only to make public profession of it in his last hours. James had long openly professed and practised it. His first act in Ireland was to remove Ormond from the government, and to commit it to Boyle, the lord primate and chancellor, and the Earl of Granard, as Lords Justices. They were both protestants. The primate was considered by the puritans as a high churchman little removed from popery; and Lord Granard, from having intermarried with a lady of presbyterian principles, was looked up to as the staunch friend and protector of the puritanical party. The extraordinary phenomenon of a catholic monarch on the throne of Ireland brought the dying embers of fanatical virulence into collision with the rising confidence of the Roman catholics. Mutual

1685.

James pro-
claimed on
his brother's
death.

1685. charges and accusations of plots and conspiracies harassed the government, and rendered the situation of the Lords Justices so unpleasant, that Lord Granard pressed his Majesty to dismiss him from his station. The King, conscious of his fidelity, wrote to induce him to retain his situation, and particularly assured him, that nothing should be done in Ireland prejudicial to the protestant religion *. The rebellions of Argyle and Monmouth found no open adherents in Ireland. And the King's orders for disarming the Irish militia, which consisted wholly of protestants embodied and appointed by Ormond, were executed without resistance, but not without reluctance and fear. Their arms were quietly deposited in the King's stores.

Earl of Clarendon appointed Lt. Lieutenant.

The reign of this unfortunate monarch was pregnant with events, which have been differently represented by the English and Irish historians, according to the party prepossessions under which both have written†. The Earl of Clarendon, whose sister

* James upon his accession to the throne of England assured his council, what he afterwards repeated to his parliament, that " he should make it his endeavour to preserve the government both in church and state as it was then by law established, and that he would go as far as any man in preserving all the just rights and liberties of the nation."

† The great book of authority, which the English look up to, and of which the Irish loudly complain, is, *The State of the Protestants of Ireland under the late King James's Government, in which their Carriage towards him is justified, and the absolute Necessity of their endeavouring to be freed from his Government, and of submitting to their present Majesties, is demonstrated.* It

James had married, was appointed Lord Lieutenant; but he was probably too firmly attached to the protestant interest to give as largely into James's measures, as was expected at his hands*. His instructions

1685.

was written, as by the title sufficiently appears, immediately after the revolution, to make court to King William; and is attributed to Dr. King, who was made bishop of Derry in 1690, and translated to the see of Dublin in 1702. Doctor Lesley, the famous protestant divine, wrote an answer to this book, in which he proves most of Dr. King's charges to be either absolutely false or grossly exaggerated. Lesley's answer was never replied to, and by the turn of politics was suppressed even in the first edition, whereas Dr. King's has gone through several. Swift says, Lesley was a *nonjuror*: and Swift was as little disposed to favour papists, as puritans or republicans. "Without doubt Mr. Lesley is unhappily misled in his politics: but he has given the world such a proof of his soundness in religion, as many a bishop ought to be proud of. I never saw the gentleman in my life: I know he is the son of a great prelate, who, upon several accounts, was one of the most extraordinary men of his age. I verily believe he acted from a mistaken conscience (in refusing to swear allegiance to King William), and therefore I distinguish between the principles and the person. However, it is some mortification to me, when I see an avowed nonjuror contribute more to the confounding of popery, than could ever be done by an hundred thousand such introductions." (*Swift's Preface to Burnet's Introduction to his History of the Reformation*). It should also be added, that Dr. King had been before the revolution in favour with James, and had expressed sentiments of the staunchest toryism: but on being detected in a correspondence with the Prince of Orange and the northern rebels, was committed to prison: from whence he was discharged upon lord chief justice Herbert's undertaking to answer for his loyalty to King James: at which his lordship was afterwards much chagrined.

* Hence his frequent complaints of his Majesty's want of con-

1686. clearly bespoke the King's intention to introduce catholics into the army and corporations, and invest them with magistracies and judicial offices: and being called upon therein to give his opinion upon the legality of the measure, he expressed his readiness to comply with his Majesty's commands, although contrary to the act of Elizabeth, which directed, that all civil and temporal officers, as well as ecclesiastical, should take the oath of supremacy. The army was soon filled with catholic officers, the bench with catholic judges, (except three who retained their seats) the corporations with catholic members, and the counties with catholic sheriffs and magistrates.

Tyrconnel
appointed
commander
in chief of
the army.

The Earl of Tyrconnel was appointed commander in chief of the army, independent of the Lord

fidence in him, " I shall be able to do the King more or less service here, according to the credit and countenance the world finds I have from his Majesty." And " certainly it would not be to the prejudice of the King's service to have the chief governor a little consulted with." (State Letters, vol. I. p. 114). In the same letter to the lord treasurer, he says, " His Majesty knows that I will, as well as must, obey him." It appears, however, that the most alarming effects were expected from the sanguine hopes on one side, and the fears on the other, that the act of settlement and explanation would be repealed, and the former proprietors re-admitted to their ancient inheritances: for the new lord lieutenant in his speech to the council, when he was sworn into office, on the 9th of January, 1685-6, expressly told them, " I have the King's commands to declare upon all occasions, that whatever imaginary (for they can be called no other) apprehensions any men here may have had, his Majesty hath no intention of altering the acts of settlement." (Append. to St. Let. p. 283)

Lieutenant. On the very rumour of these changes and appointments, alarm and consternation fell upon the whole protestant part of the kingdom: and most of the traders and others, whose fortunes could be transferred, fled from a country, in which they expected a speedy establishment of popery. and a general transmutation of property. Clarendon, and most of the protestant party, complained of the overbearing confidence and presumption of Tyrconnel and of the catholics, by whom, in many instances, their newly-acquired power and influence were most imprudently exercised.

1686.

The catholics, feeling themselves secure in the freedom of their religion, prevailed on Tyrconnel to go to England, in order to bring over the King to their favourite measure of breaking through the act of settlement. It had now had the sanction and experience of twenty years, and the King saw more inconveniences in throwing the whole national property into a new state of disorder and confusion, than those did, who had been suffering during that whole time under the deprivation of their birth-rights*. Tyrconnel however so effectually worked upon the King, as to have disposed him to consent to the repeal of the acts of settlement; and he soon returned to Ireland as lord deputy.

Tyrconnel sent to England to procure a repeal of the acts of settlement.

* Tyrconnel was himself a great enemy to the settlement, and he took over with him Mr. Nagle, who was generally esteemed one of the most eminent of the profession of the law, and who, whilst in Eng^land, wrote a treatise much spoken of in those days upon the injustice of the acts of settlement. It was called the *Coventry Letter*, because it was written during his sejour in that city.

1686.
James and
Tyrconnel
obnoxious
to the pro-
testants of
Ireland

The commission of any portion of the civil power to the catholics worked up the protestants to the last degree of suspicion and desperation. Tyrconnel was personally obnoxious to them: he was impetuous, resolute, and imperious: he commanded an unbounded influence over the King; and having in his youth been a witness of the bloody carnage at Drogheda, he had ever retained an abhorrence of fanaticism, with the spirit of which he considered all protestants more or less infected. Nothing more was wanting to alienate the affections of the Irish protestants from James and his government: and ere this unfortunate monarch, by the treachery of Sunderland, had been drawn to abdicate the crown of England, the whole protestant interest of Ireland had already associated against him *.

* Great allowances are to be made by the impartial observer of those factious days for the natural workings of the minds of individuals interested in them. No man ever spoke with more candour and sincerity upon that subject than Dr. Lesley. (*Preface to his Answer to Archbishop King*) "Suppose, say they, it were true, which Dr. King asserts, as it is most false, that King James while he was in Ireland, did endeavour totally to overthrow the church established by law there, and set up that which was most agreeable to the inclinations of the major number of the people in that kingdom, who are Roman catholics: the Jacobites ask, if this were so, whether it be not fully vindicated in the fourth instruction of those, which King William sent to his commissioners in Scotland, dated at Copt Hall, May 31, 1689, in these words: *You are to pass an act, establishing that church government, which is most agreeable to the inclinations of the people.*"

"By which rule they say, that it was as just to set up *popery* in Ireland, as *presbytery* in Scotland: and that the law was not

James was enthusiastically bent upon the full toleration of his own religion in Ireland: he had made ^{1686.} James's religious enthusiasm.

more against the one in Ireland, than against the other in Scotland. That the parliament in Ireland was liable to less exception than that in Scotland. The one called in the usual form by writs from their *natural king*, to whom they had sworn: the other, by circular letters from a *foreign prince*, to whom they owed no obedience; who could not, nor did pretend any other authority over them, or right to the crown, besides *the inclination of the people*. Which therefore, they say, in return for their kindness, he has made the standard for *church government*, as well as the government of the *state*."

"That it is only alleged, that King James intended to do in Ireland what he did not do, when it was in his power, and what King William actually did, when he was in Scotland, viz to overturn the church then by law established. Though King James had truly the argument of the *inclinations of the people*, i. e. of the major part in Ireland, which was but a pretence, and falsely collected in Scotland from the *fanatic rabble* being let loose, and encouraged to act all outrage upon the *episcopal clergy*."

The same author, with equal truth and candour, speaks in this manner of King James, whose real character is little known from the distorted caricatures left of it by most of his contemporary writers, after which the more modern copies have been taken. James had many virtues, and many faults: he was treacherously advised, and he was unfortunate. "I have done, when I have desired the reader not to think, that I am insensible of several ill steps, which were made in the administration of affairs under the government of King James. Nor do I design to lessen them, or make other apology for them, than by doing him this justice, to tell what the Jacobites offer to prove, and make it notorious viz. that the greatest blots in his government were hit by those, who made them, with design to ruin him, and now boast it as their merit, and are rewarded for it. And though Dr. King represents him to be of so tyrannical and implacable a temper towards the protestants, yet that it is now publicly known, that the fatal measures to which

1686. several efforts towards establishing it in England, even during the life of his brother, whose promise to profess it himself publicly appears to have been one of the fundamental conditions upon which Charles had for the latter years of his life been pensioned by Louis the Fourteenth: and it appears not improbable, that Charles's backwardness in fulfilling this condition may have been a reason or a pretext for Louis's irregularity in the payment. James was privy to the secret treaty between his brother and Louis; the basis of which was to abolish parliaments and establish an absolute monarchy in the three kingdoms, upon the model of that of France: to which it was thought the promotion of the catholic religion would be mainly conducive. James, on the very day after his accession, sent for Mons. de Barillon, the French ambassador, for the purpose of fixing and cementing that connection*.

he was advised, and often pressed, beyond and against his Majesty's inclinations and opinion, by those protestants, whom his unexampled and even faulty clemency had not only pardoned for all their bitter virulency in opposing his succession, but brought them into his most secret councils, and acted by their advice. This was the burden of the charge laid against him in the Prince of Orange's declaration; viz. Employing such ministers, and acting by their advice: and though our law says, that the King can do no wrong, and that therefore his ministers are only accountable; yet as Mr. Samuel Johnson laid it open, that we have lived to see the King only punished, and those ministers rewarded, and still employed: and the many grievances complained of in their administration under King James are, by the present discontented, said to be continued and doubled upon us now."

* Mr. Fox's Hist. of Jac. II. p. 81. This was done by the insidious advice of Sunderland, who foresaw that Tyrconnel's

James was more sincere than Charles: his religious convictions outweighed his temporal interests, and drove him beyond all limits of prudential policy. He fell the victim to his enthusiasm. Even Clarendon's insidious passive obedience kept not pace with James's religious impetuosity, and he therefore appointed Tyrconnel lord deputy. Tyrconnel had been bred to arms, and had imbibed exalted notions of the necessary submission to authority. His conduct was imperious and violent. The council complained of it to the King, and Tyrconnel repaired to England, not only to justify himself to the King, but to induce his Majesty, even against his inclination, to consent to the repeal of the Act of Settlement. He succeeded in both, and returned to his government.

1687.

Long before King James had left England the protestants in the north of Ireland were generally in arms; they appointed their own officers; enlisted men; armed and arrayed them; they regimented themselves, and had frequent rendezvous: they appeared in the field with drums beating and colours flying: they chose governors of counties, and appointed councils and committees to carry on their business: they disarmed the native Irish, and such of the protestants as they suspected not to be cordial to their cause. All this was not only done without the authority of

Irish protestants disloyal to James before he abdicated.

impetuosity would precipitate the King's affairs in Ireland to ruin. Upon the like policy had he persuaded the King to take Father Petre, the Jesuit, into the privy council, and to receive the Pope's nuncio in full solemnity at Windsor.

1687 James*, at that time King of Ireland; but the royal authority for it was not even pretended. On the contrary, it is manifest by their subsequent conduct, and boasting of it (when the revolution had succeeded) as meritorious, that it was all intended a treasonable levying of war against the crown†. This formidable

* As all independency must be reciprocal, it might with as much reason be argued, that the continuance of Ireland's allegiance to James should bind England, as that England's discontinuance of it should bind Ireland. In case of an abdication of the crown of Ireland, it certainly was competent for Ireland to chuse for itself, whether it should continue the crown in the old line of descent, or set aside the old inheritable stock in favour of a stranger and foreigner, as the English did. In such case England must have had the right of legislating for Ireland. The most bigotted obloquy alone can impute rebellion to the Irish catholics for adhering to and fighting for King James their lawful sovereign, until he fled and abandoned them to the conqueror. Dr. Lesley is very pointed about the versatility of the protestants' allegiance in this revolutionary crisis. "Before the association in the north of Ireland, September, 1688, they prayed for King James. The beginning of March following, they proclaimed the Prince of Orange King, and prayed for him. The 15th day, King James's army broke their forces at Drommore, in the north of Ireland, and reduced all but Derry and Enniskillen. Then they prayed again for King James, *that God would strengthen him to vanquish and overcome all his enemies*. In August following, Schomberg went over with an English army; then, as far as his quarters reached, they returned to pray the same prayer for King William: the rest of the protestants still praying for victory to King James and for the people; and yet now tell us, that all at while they meant the same thing: four times in one year praying forwards and backwards point blank contradictory to one another."

† The association, under the orders of which all this was done,

armed force of the northern protestants had been gaining strength several months before the landing of William in Torr Bay, and continued daily in an improving state of organization and regular warfare against the existing government of the country*.

1687

was established, and began to arm in September, 1688. Vide p. 7. of the *Faithful History of the Northern Affairs of Ireland from the late King James's Accession to the Crown, to the Siege of Londonderry, by a Person who bore a great Part in these Transactions*. The author of it was the avowed enemy of James.

* It is a matter of no small moment to ascertain the dates of the leading facts of the revolution of 1688, in Ireland, for it bore very differently both in fact and principle upon England. That James abdicated in England, is as unquestionable, as that he did not abdicate in the same manner, and at the same time, in Ireland. He left Whitehall, when he went to Faversham, on the 11th of December, 1688; but he returned to London, and quitted England only on the 23d of December following: and his abdication was not formally determined in the convention till the ensuing February. Long before any of these three facts could have been known in Ireland, we find (in *Mr. Boyse's Vindication of Mr. Osborne, in reference to the Affairs in the north of Ireland*, p. 11.) that Mr. Osborne was, in November, 1688, entrusted by his brethren the nonconforming ministers and other gentlemen of note and interest in the province of Ulster, to get some gentlemen sent from Dublin to the Prince, with instructions signed by Archdeacon Hamilton and Alexander Osborne in the name of the rest, to congratulate the arrival of the Prince of Orange into England, and tender their services to him. They accordingly sent a person with a memorial to the Prince of Orange on the 8th of December, 1688, greatly enlarging on those instructions: the original of which papers Mr. Boyse, at the time of his writing the before-mentioned pamphlet, had in his possession. These very instructions argue a long pre-existing organization, which at that time could be nothing short of downright treason.

1688.
 {
 Conduct of
 the govern-
 ment to-
 wards the
 northern
 insurgents.

Tyrconnel under these embarrassments summoned the loyal part of the nation to arm in support of the rights of their lawful sovereign, upon which their own rights also depended, against the northern rebels, and the efforts of the usurper, (such was then the style of the castle). On the other hand, archbishop King has said*, "And lest there should be any terms proposed or accepted by the people in the north, and

Such also were the acts of shutting the gates of Londonderry against lord Antrim's regiment sent thither by the lord deputy, and refusing to quarter two companies of soldiers sent to Enniskillen by the same authority. Which two acts, Archbishop King says, *was all that was done by any protestant in Ireland in opposition to the government before King James deserted England* (p. 118). We learn from Hamilton's *Actions of the Enniskillen Men*, p. 3, that this happened on the 16th of December, 1688. But it was on the 3d of December that a certain anonymous illiterately worded letter, announcing an intended massacre of all the protestants of Ireland on the 9th of that month, was picked up in Cumber-street, and sent to Lord Mount Alexander, and (*whether true or counterfeit*, says his grace, p. 115), was spread over the whole kingdom, and about the same time the gates of Derry were shut against lord Antrim's regiment; which his grace justifies, as they appeared before the town without the King's livery. On the 7th of December, 1688, (vide Mackenzie's *Narrative of the Siege of Londonderry*, p. 3) the gates were shut against Lord Antrim's regiment, and on that very same day Mr. Hamilton, of Tullimore, went to Dublin, deputed by these protestant associates to entreat the earl of Granard, to put himself at the head of the northern army as their general: to which deputation he returned a very indignant answer: that he knew not what it was to command a rabble: that he had lived loyal all his life, and would not depart from it in his old age, and was resolved that no man should write *rebel* upon his grave-stone (Lesl. 79)

* Affairs in Ireland under the late King James, p. 129.

so that country escape being plundered and undone, he made all the haste he could to involve the kingdom into blood." The fact is so much the reverse, that several proclamations were made requiring the associators to disperse, and promising them pardon. There was one of this nature, dated the 25th of January, 1688, which was signed by several protestants of the council, as the earl of Granard, lord chief justice Keating, &c. to which a reference is made in the proclamation mentioned by the archbishop bearing date 7th of March, 1688*: and it is notorious that Mr. Osborne was sent down to the north by the lord deputy, before any part of the army was put in motion, with instructions to use all persuasions to the associators to lay down their arms, and give them warning of the very day on which the army would march: with a special instruction, that although ten were excepted in the proclamation, yet he would insist but upon three: and if it should appear, that they took up arms merely for self-preservation, (as was pretended) then he would pardon these said three persons also †.

1688.

* This proclamation is to be seen in the Appendix to my Hist. Rev. No. XLII: and is a notable monument of the want of good faith and candour in that trimming prelate. In justice to the actors in the scenes which his grace was then representing, this proclamation ought to have been comprised in his Appendix, amongst other documents of very inferior importance to that public act of government.

† See Mr. Osborne's Letter to Lord Massarene, taken from the Apology for the Protestants in Ireland. Appendix to my Hist. Review, No. XLIII.

1689.
James sails
from France
to head the
army in Ire-
land.

An army of about 30,000 men was soon formed, and officered chiefly with catholics. James gave constant assurances, that he would come over and head them in person; he was then at the court of Louis the XIVth, who, commiserating his fallen state, and envying the rising power of William, his inveterate enemy, offered him a French army to enable him to re-assert his rights: which he with true patriotism declined, alleging, "that he would recover his dominions by the assistance of his own subjects, or perish in the attempt." James sailed from Brest with a strong armament, having on board 1,200 of his own subjects who were then in the pay of France, and 100 French officers: he landed at Kinsale, at the end of March, 1689: thence he proceeded to Dublin, where he was received as King with great pomp and solemnity.

Conduct of
James at
Dublin.

"Addresses* (says Leland) were instantly poured in upon him from all orders of people. That of the protestant established clergy touched gently on the distraction of the times, and the grievances they had experienced. He assured them of protection; he promised to defend, and even to enlarge, their privileges. But his fairest declarations were received with coldness and suspicion, when all the remaining protestants of the privy council were removed, and their places supplied by D'Avaux, Powis, Berwick, the bishop of Chester, and others of his zealous adherents. He now issued five several proclamations: by the first,

* 3 Lel. p. 523.

he ordered all protestants, who had lately abandoned the kingdom, to return and accept his protection, under the severest penalties; and that his subjects of every persuasion should unite against the Prince of Orange. The second was calculated to suppress robberies; commanding all catholics, not of his army, to lay up their arms in their several abodes: a third invited the country to carry provisions to his troops: by the fourth he raised the value of money: and the last summoned a parliament to meet at Dublin on the 7th day of May; and which did meet, and sit from that day to the 12th of July, and then adjourned to the 12th of November following*."

1689.

After these solemn and formal acts of sovereignty, the scene changed to open warfare. The defenders of Derry and the Enniskilleners supported the cause of the revolutionists against James's forces, till the arrival of an English army of 40,000 men under Schomberg, which was afterwards headed by William in person. Archbishop King, and after him most

Commence-
ment of
open war-
fare.

* As by the turn of events all acts done by James in Ireland after his abdication of the crown of England are now considered as acts of rebellion, or usurpation upon the royal powers and prerogatives of King William, it would not be decent to refer to them for any other purpose, than that of proving the sincerity with which the Irish nation then submitted to James as their lawful sovereign. As pieces of historical curiosity, will be found in the Appendix to my Hist. Review, No. XLIV. the names of those who sat in this parliament, the King's speech to the parliament, their address to the King, the titles to the acts, and the preamble to the bill, which passed the commons for repealing the Act of Settlement.

1689.

English authors, have represented the Irish army as a horde of undisciplined rebels, indulging in the extreme of infuriate licentiousness. His grace lays the whole war to the account of Lord Tyrconnel, who could not be prevailed on to defer sending the army to the north, till King James's arrival *, *but hastened to make the parties irreconcilable, by engaging them in blood, and by letting loose the army to spoil and plunder.* The truth, however, is, that the protestants in the north were worse treated by, and suffered more from, William's army in one month, than they had from the Irish army from March to the end of August, when Schomberg landed ; although, during those five months, the Irish army were in possession of the whole province, except the towns of Derry and Enniskillen.

Lawless
state of
Schom-
berg's army,
according
to his own
secretary.

Dr. Gorge, who was then secretary to General Schomberg, in writing to Colonel Hamilton, whose estate lay in that country, gives the most pointed refutation of the untruth of the archbishop†. In this letter he informs us, that "it was resolved to treat the Irish protestants of Ulster rather as enemies than friends. That the goods and stocks of the protestant inhabitants once seized by the enemy were forfeited, and ought not to be restored, but given as an encouragement to the soldiers : that their (the protestants') oaths and complaints were neither to be believed or redressed ; that so an easier and safer approach might

* *Affairs of Ireland*, p. 129.

† This letter being a very valuable document of a part of Irish history most grossly misrepresented, is given in the Appendix, No. XLV.

be made to invade the little left them by the Irish : that free quartering was the least retaliation, that protestants could give for being restored to their former estates. If you add to these, the pressing of horses at pleasure, denying the people bread, or seed of their own corn, though the General by his public proclamation requires both, and some openly and publicly contemning and scorning the said proclamation, whereby multitudes of families are already reduced for want of bread, and left only to beg, and steal, or starve ; these being the practices, and these the principles, and both as well known to you as to me, it cannot be wondered that the oppressed protestants here should report us worse than the Irish. To me it seems most strange, but yet it is true, that notwithstanding all the violence, oppression, and wrong done by these (the Enniskillen and Derry forces), and other of our army, on the impoverished, oppressed, and plundered protestant inhabitants of this province, and the little encouragement and great discouragement they have had from us, yet you know, what I esteem as a great presage of future good, they continue and remain as firm and faithful to us, as the Irish papists against us. How frequently do we hear them tell us, that though we continue to injure them, rob and destroy them, yet they must trust in us, and be true and faithful to us." Thus did Schomberg's own secretary, an eye-witness of the fact, commend the discipline and good government of King James's army, as decidedly superior to that of King William.

Of all periods of Irish history the year 1689 is per-

1689.



1689.
 The duty of
 allegiance to
 James lasted
 longer in Ire-
 land than in
 England.

haps the most critically important, and requires the chastest colouring. The various acts by which James abdicated the crown of England, viz. by surrendering the executive power, disbanding the army, burning the writs for convening a parliament, casting the great seal into the river, abandoning his post, flying the kingdom, and leaving the invader in possession of the throne, as well as the affections of the majority of the people, formed no precedent for Ireland, which then was an absolutely independent kingdom. Every thing was here in the reverse. The presence of the sovereign, or his deputy, summoning all his liege subjects to their allegiance, bad defiance to all speculative grounds for dispensation or cessation of their former oaths: the resistance made against the attempts of an invader with an army of foreigners, left it no longer dubious, on which side the duty of loyalty called forth every subject of the King of Ireland. In order to appreciate the civil duty of the Irish of that day, we must divest ourselves of the impression, which must have been produced by the then uncertain success of the revolution of 1688. No man, admitting Ireland to enjoy the same constitution as England, formed upon the Whig principles, upon which the revolution in England was effected, can aver, that an Irishman, who had sworn allegiance to King James, summoned by him to defend his person, crown, and country from the invasion of the Prince of Orange, and a foreign army under marshal Schomberg, willing, like the majority of his countrymen, that the crown of Ireland should be worn by its hereditary monarch, should, in

thus obeying its natural sovereign, become guilty of rebellion and treason, whilst that natural sovereign continued to wear his hereditary crown within his own kingdom. Such historically is the case of the Irish, who were *legislatively declared rebels, and punished

1689.



* The parliaments both of England and Ireland have declared the acts of the Irish parliament, that sat under James, to be acts of rebellion and treason. The substance of the Irish act of 7 Wm. III. c. iii. *declaring all Attainders and all other Acts made in the late pretended parliament to be void*, is both historical and legislative. The preamble sets forth, that Forasmuch as since the happy accession of his Majesty King William, and the late Queen Mary of blessed memory, to the imperial crown of England, whereunto this kingdom of Ireland is inseparably annexed, united, and belonging, no parliament could or ought to be holden within this kingdom, unless by their majesties authority; yet, nevertheless, divers persons, during the late war and rebellion in this kingdom, did, on or about the seventh day of May, one thousand six hundred and eighty-nine, assemble themselves at or near the city of Dublin, without authority derived from their majesties, and in opposition thereto; and being so assembled, did pretend to be, and did call themselves by the name of, a parliament, and, acting in concurrence with the late King James, did make and pass several pretended acts or statutes, and did cause the same to be placed and recorded amongst the records and proceedings of parliaments; all which pretended acts were formed and designed in manifest opposition to the sovereignty of the crown of England, and for the utter destruction of the protestants and the whole protestant interest in this kingdom, and are and were null and void to all intents and purposes whatsoever; and whereas their said majesties, out of their pious and princely care of and for their dutiful and loyal protestant subjects of this kingdom, and for their better security and relief, by an act of their parliament of England, made at Westminster, in the first year of their said majesties reign, were graciously pleased to enact and declare, "That the said pretended parliament, so as aforesaid as-

1689. as traitors for obeying their sovereign, whilst he continued the functions of the executive within the realm of Ireland.

Purity of
the Irish
allegiance.

On this severe trial of the subjects' duty, the allegiance of the Irish to their sovereign was pure and unalloyed. Although their natural monarch professed the same religion as the majority of the Irish nation, yet was he far from being in personal favour with them. The conduct of the Stuarts to the Irish had already weaned them from all personal affection for that family. The dastardly flight of James from England, without even attempting a stand against his rival, filled with indignation a people of quick sympathy and natural bravery. James's natural character was reserved and rather austere; when he was in Ireland it was rendered morose and petulant from misfortunes; qualities ill-calculated to gain the warm and grateful hearts of a people supereminently sensible of confidence and favor. James had imbibed an unaccountable dislike to the Irish; and dislikes are generally reciprocal. As little also were the principles, judgment, and feelings of Tyrconnel in unison with those of his sovereign. The Irish, pre-

sembled at Dublin, was not a parliament, but an unlawful and rebellious assembly; and that all acts and proceedings whatsoever, had, made, done, or passed, or to be had, made, done, or passed in the said pretended parliament, should be taken, deemed, adjudged, and declared to be null and void to all intents, constructions, and purposes whatsoever." For which the lords spiritual and temporal, and commons, in that parliament assembled, did return their most hearty and unfeigned thanks to his most sacred majesty.

serving their allegiance, availed themselves of the personal presence of their sovereign, to attain the object of their wishes in a constitutional manner ; and in these they rather insisted upon than requested the concurrence of their sovereign *. The several acts therefore of that parliament are to be considered rather as the acts of the Irish nation, than the wishes of James. They are noticed to trace the prospects

1689.


* A singular illustration of this observation is to be found in Lesley, p. 104. " It is a melancholy story (if true) which Sir Theobald Butler, solicitor general to king James in Ireland, tells of the Duke of Tyrconnell's sending him to King James with a letter about passing some lands for the said duke ; he, employing Sir Theobald in his business, gave him the letter open to read, which Sir Theobald says he found worded in terms so insolent and imposing, as would be unbecoming for one gentleman to offer to another. Sir Theobald says, he could not but represent to the duke the strange surprize he was in, at his treating the king at such a rate, and desired to be excused from being the messenger to give such a letter into the king's hands. The duke smiled upon him, and told him, he knew how to deal with the king at that time; that he must have his business done: and for Theobald's scruple, he sealed the letter and told him, now the king cannot suppose you know the contents, only carry it to him as from me. Sir Theobald did so, and says he observed the king narrowly as he read it, and that his majesty did shew great commotion, that he changed colours, and sighed often, yet ordered Tyrconnell's request, or demand rather, to be granted. Thus says Sir Theobald. Many particulars of the like insolence of these Irish to king James might be shewn, but I would not detain the reader ; what I have said is abundantly sufficient to shew how far it was from his own inclinations, either to suffer or do such things as were thus violently put upon him by the Irish in his extremity."

1689.

Nature of
the contest
between
James and
William.

of national happiness and prosperity, in which the catholics at that time placed their hopes.

The chief of these acts were the Act of Attainder, and the Act for Repeal of the Acts of Settlement*.

* These acts are given in the Appendix to my Historical Review, No. XLVI. and No. XLVII. as historical documents; to neither of which it appears King James was himself disposed. Circumstances would not permit him then to exercise the *veto* against the general wish of his Irish subjects. Leslie thus speaks of James's conduct in Ireland: (p. 99.) "And even as to his carriage in Ireland, I have heard not a few of the protestants confess, that they owed their preservation and safety, next under God, chiefly to the clemency of King James, who restrained all he could, the insolence and outrage of their enemies, of which I can give you some remarkable instances and good vouchers. I appeal to the Earl of Granard, whether Duke Powis did not give him thanks from King James, for the opposition he made in the House of Lords to the passing the Act of Attainder, and the Act for Repeal of the Acts of Settlement; and desired, that he and the other protestant lords should use their endeavours to obstruct them. To which the Lord Granard answered, that they were too few to effect that; but if the king would not have them pass, his way was to engage all the Roman Catholic lords to stop them. To which the duke replied with an oath, that the king durst not let them know that he had a mind to have them stop. I farther appeal to that noble lord, the Earl of Granard, whether the same day, that the news of the driving the protestants before the walls of Derry came to Dublin, as his lordship was going to the Parliament House, he did not meet King James, who asked him where he was going? His lordship answered, to enter his protestation against the repeal of the Acts of Settlement: upon which King James told him, that he was fallen into the hands of a people, who rammed that and many other things down his throat. His lordship took that occasion to tell his majesty of the driving before Derry; the king told him, that he was grieved for it; that

The first of these acts, which is usually spoken of by modern historians as the act for attainting Irish protestants, bespeaks in its title its whole purport and tendency ; *For Attainder of divers Rebels, and for preserving the Interest of loyal Subjects*. It contains not one word, that relates even remotely to any religious distinction ; and the preamble of the act refers wholly to those rebellious and traitorous subjects, who had invited and assisted the Prince of Orange, the King's unnatural enemy, to invade that kingdom. At that time it was not a conflict between protestants and catholics, nor between Whigs and Tories, nor yet between an English and an Irish party ; it was a broad open contest between *Jacobites* and *Guillamites* ; the former headed by the natural hereditary monarch, who had not resigned or abdicated, but was defending the crown of Ireland against a foreign invader ; the latter headed by a foreign prince, who, against the will of the majority of the nation, was working his way to the throne of Ireland by the sword, after having been seated upon that of England by the people, who by James's abdication had found themselves without a supreme executive magistrate. In England the change of government in 1688 was a revolution of principle rather than of violence : in Ireland it was a hard-fought contest. This may be properly termed the first real conquest of Ireland by

he had sent immediate orders to discharge it ; and that none but a barbarous Muscovite (for so he stiled General Rosen who commanded that driving, who thereby it seems was bred or born in Muscovy) could have thought of so cruel a contrivance."

1689.

the sword. The unsuccessful became the rebel by the fortune of the day.

Beneficial
act of James
for the trade
and navigation of
Ireland.

Although James were averse from passing the acts I have already mentioned, he probably encouraged another which passed, * *for the advance and improvement of trade, and for encouragement and increase of shipping and navigation*, which purported to throw open to Ireland a free and immediate trade with all our plantations and colonies; to promote ship building, by remitting to the owners of Irish built vessels, large proportions of the duties of custom and excise, encourage seamen by exempting them for ten years from taxes, and allowing them the freedom of any city or sea-port they should chuse to reside in, and improve the Irish navy by establishing free schools for teaching and instructing the mathematics and the art of navigation, in Dublin, Belfast, Waterford, Cork, Limerick and Galway. If James looked up to any probability of maintaining his ground in Ireland, he must have been sensible of the necessity of an Irish navy. No man was better qualified to judge of the utility of such institutions, than this prince. He was an able seaman, fond of his profession; and to his industry and talent does the British navy owe many of its best signals and regulations. The firmness, resolution, and enterprise, which had distinguished him, whilst Duke of York, as a sea officer, abandoned him when king, both in the cabinet and the field.


* Which see in the Appendix to my Historical Review, No. XLVII.

Although William, with his consort Mary, had for some time been seated on the throne of England, yet was he not sufficiently secured upon it to absent himself from the central point of government. He had to reconcile the minds of many persons of note and influence in England, who, though dissatisfied with the conduct of James, could not altogether bend their principles to the introduction of a foreigner, against the then prevailing doctrine of the *jure divino* and infeasible hereditary right to the throne. He had also to subdue a rising in Scotland under Lord Dundee, who had gained a signal advantage over the English general Mackay at Killicrankey. He was at war with France; and the French fleet, conveying a large supply of arms, ammunition, and money to James, had obtained a very important victory over admiral Herbert, who commanded twelve sail of the line in Bantry Bay. William was also kept in constant agitation by the reports of imaginary or dread of real plots. His domestic distresses were moreover increased by the open and secret manœuvres of the whigs and tories, who had several and opposite views in deterring the king from going to Ireland. His Majesty wavered between the two parties. However natural it was for him to side with the former, upon whose principles he had been placed on the throne of England, yet was he so dissatisfied at this time with them, or pleased with the tories, that he threw the whole court influence into the tory interest, which secured to them a constant majority in parliament.

1689.

Difficulties attending William, after his accession to the throne of England.

A project was in the mean time formed for an ad-

1689.

 Address to
 the King,
 against his
 going to
 Ireland.

dress against William's going to Ireland. The real motives of the address were insidiously kept out of sight. The whigs wished to embarrass him, and the tories or Jacobites sought secretly to keep alive the party in Ireland, which in England most of them were ashamed or afraid openly to espouse. They both, therefore, concurred in the resolution that his Majesty ought not to expose his sacred person, so essential to the happiness of the kingdom, to the dangers of the climate and circumstances, which had last year proved so fatal to his army under Schomberg. The king, who had with such unexpected facility been established upon the throne of England, was too much of the statesman not to foresee the failure of his general designs, if James were not effectually crushed in Ireland, where he still preserved his regal authority ; and had therefore, with great political wisdom, resolved to attend in person to this last and conclusive effort of the falling dynasty to keep its power alive. In order to prevent any objection or difficulty from the English parliament, with the firmness of which he was severely trammelled, in the very midst of a warm debate in the English House of Commons on the incorporated bill of indemnity and pains, the king summoned them to the House of Lords on the 27th of January, 1689, (O. S.) prorogued, and soon after dissolved the parliament*. The

* In the speech from the throne, on this occasion, the King said : " It is a very sensible affliction to me to see my good people burthened with heavy taxes ; but since the speedy recovery of Ireland is, in my opinion, the only means to ease them, and to

tories considered this a triumph: they celebrated it at a grand dinner of the party, whence they deputed Sir John Lowther with a verbal message to the king, expressive of their unshaken attachment to him, with an assurance of a speedy and effectual grant of the supplies. The consequence of this message was the removal of many of the leading whigs, and the appointment of tories to their places. Thus did William, within a year from his possession of the throne of England, dismiss the parliament, and break with the party; which had placed him upon it. 1690.

Whether the English assassination plot were fictitious or real, William affected to disregard or disbelieve it. He was bent on the Irish expedition; and about the middle of June he sailed from England with three hundred transports, and six ships of war to guard them. They were joined by several other vessels with stores, ammunition, and provisions; so that, after they had landed at Carrickfergus, and joined the relics of Schomberg's wasted army, his force amounted to thirty-six thousand men; the greater part of which

The situation and force of the hostile armies.

preserve the peace and honour of the nation, I am resolved to go thither in person, and will, with the blessing of God Almighty, endeavour to reduce the kingdom, that it may no longer be a charge to them. And as I have already ventured my life for the preservation of the religion, laws, and liberties of this nation, so I am now willing to expose it to secure you the quiet enjoyment of them. The spring draws on, and it being requisite I should be early in the field, I must immediately apply my thoughts to the giving orders for the necessary preparations, which, that I may have the more leisure to do, I have thought convenient now to put an end to the session."

1690.



were foreigners: he had a corps of ten thousand Danes, seven thousand Brandenburgers, and two thousand French Huguenots, and the proportion of foreigners on the staff was still greater. The object of James was to protract the war, that of William to determine it at a blow. James kept nearly thirty thousand men about him, and the rest of his force, which in all did not exceed forty-five thousand, he distributed into garrisons. The eyes of Europe were anxiously bent upon this singular contest between two rival kings. William and the prince of Denmark, who had married the princesses Mary and Ann, were fighting against their father-in-law.

Difference
of the two
Kings.

Each king in this critical juncture relied upon his own judgment in taking his station, and directing the order of battle, to the contempt and even disgust of their most experienced generals. James had the advantage of situation; William the superiority of numbers and discipline. James diffided in his troops, and seemed more bent upon his personal safety than the issue of the battle: William confided in his own exertions, and the advantage of his presence and example to animate his troops. The result corresponded with the foresight, judgment, and exertions of the rival commanders.

The battle
of the
Boyne.

On the last day of June, the two armies were stationed on each side of the river Boyne, in sight of each other. William, while reconnoitring his enemy, was wounded on the shoulder by a cannon ball, which had been aimed at him. An immediate conflux of his men around him gave rise to a report, that he was

killed. It flew through Ireland, and soon reached Paris, which was illuminated on the occasion, and displayed all the rejoicings of a victory. About nine o'clock at night William called a council of war, and without asking the advice of his officers, ordered his army to cross the river on the next morning, in three divisions, under Count Schomberg, the Duke his father, and himself in person.

1690.

No sooner had James perceived Count Schomberg marching off towards Slanes, than he imagined the whole army was following; and by dispatching large bodies of troops to watch their motions, he considerably weakened his main body. William, as soon as he heard, that Count Schomberg had passed the river, ordered the advanced body to cross, who formed as fast as they got footing. The Irish troops, after an ill-directed fire from the houses, breastworks, and hedges, fled. General Hamilton, who commanded the Irish cavalry, enraged at the cowardice of the infantry, ordered brandy to be distributed amongst his dragoons, and then bore down with resistless impetuosity upon the enemy, who had advanced into the open ground. A body of French, which had hitherto been undiscovered, advancing to support Hamilton's charge, with an order proportioned to his want of it, threw William's center into disorder. The Dutch stopped, the French protestants were broken, the English advanced slowly, and the Danes fled back through the river, pursued by a part of Hamilton's dragoons. Callimote, the commander of the French protestants, was mortally wounded. In the mean time, that part

Movements
of the two
armies.

1690.

of Hamilton's dragoons, which had entered the river, finding their career stopped, returned, and in their way, breaking through the French protestants a second time, wounded Schomberg, and hurried him along, till he fell by the fire of his own men, who mistook him for the enemy. William, in the mean time, who had passed the river below, was preparing to fall on the enemy's flank. At this sight the Irish retired to the strong station of Dunmore, where the battle lasted above half an hour with various success. The Irish infantry once more gave way. Hamilton, with his cavalry, again attempted to recover the victory, and had nearly succeeded, when he was taken prisoner. James, on learning, that count Schomberg was still advancing towards Dunleek, whither he had ordered his army to retire, fled with his principal officers, while the armies were still engaged. William immediately directed a pursuit, the celerity of which prevented the enemy from defending the pass of Dunleek, and the victory became complete. About two thousand of the Irish fell: the English report, that they lost not above one-fourth of that number.

Effects of
the battle of
the Boyne.

The battle of the Boyne turned the scale of the kingdom. William, although he commanded a considerable superiority of force, attended to the duties of a vigilant, steady, and intrepid general, shared the danger of his army, encouraging it by his presence, voice, and example, even after he had been wounded and pressed by his officers to retire from the action, and be more cautious of his person. James stood at a secure distance, a cold spectator of the

contest for his crown ; so fearful of his enemy, or diffident of himself or his troops, that his chief concern and preparation before the battle were to secure his personal retreat *. He fled with precipitancy to Dublin, and thence to Waterford, where a frigate was ready to convey him to France. Thus did he leave the worsted relicks of his army to make the best stand

1690.

* When James, after his flight, arrived in Dublin, he had the ungracious imprudence to reflect upon the cowardice of the Irish ; an infamy so little known in Ireland, that their native language has no word to express it. A printed account, in the nature of a bulletin, was circulated through London at the time of these transactions in Ireland, containing the following account ; “ At five this morning, being Wednesday the 2d of July, King James having sent for the Irish lord mayor, and some principal persons to the Castle, told them, that he found all things against him ; that in England he had an army, which would have fought, but they proved false and deserted him ; that here he had an army. which was loyal enough, but would not stand by him ; he was now necessitated to provide for his safety, and that they should make the best terms for themselves that they could. He told his menial servants, that he would have no further occasion to keep such a court as he had done, and that they were at liberty to dispose of themselves. He desired them, therefore, all to be kind to the protestants, and not injure them or their city ; for though he quitted it, he did not quit his interest in it ; and so with two or three in company he went to Bray, and along by the sea to Waterford ; having appointed his carriages to meet him another way. We hear he did not sleep till he got on ship-board ; and having been once driven in again, is since clear gone off.” It is also reported, that when James arrived late at night at the castle, the lady (then stiled Duchess) Tyrconnel, received him with the most sympathising respect and condolence, when the King sarcastically reflected upon the alertness of the runaway Irish, to which with becoming spirit she replied, that his majesty had at least the advantage of any of

1690. they could against the enemy, and procure from him the best terms their personal bravery entitled them to.

James
escapes un-
der convoy
to France.

James, in his flight, received a letter from Louis the XIVth, in which that monarch informed him, that his victory at Fleurs had put it in his power to draw his garrisons from the interior of Flanders to the coast, and of the station his fleet had taken, which prevented his enemies from succouring each other. Louis urged him to retire to France, and leave the conduct of the Irish war to his generals, with orders to protract it. In his passage he met a French fleet of frigates, with which Seignelai had been commissioned to burn William's transports then on the coast of Ireland: but this unfortunate monarch, more immediately intent upon his own personal safety, than the successful progress of his arms in Ireland, insisted upon their returning to convoy him safe to France.

William's
progress af-
ter the bat-
tle of the
Boyne.

The flight of James and the retreat of his army left William with such a force about Drogheda, as to enable him to summon it to surrender. The governor having hesitated, William threatened to treat the garrison as Cromwell had in case of resistance. It instantly yielded. And William hastily advanced to Dublin, where he was received with enthusiasm by the protestants, and without any resistance from the catholics.

them. There is no question, but the Irish would have stood by James to the very last, had he not so shamefully fled. Although his army retreated in good order, so as to command the admiration of the enemy, yet, indignant at the dastardly conduct of their commander, they cried out generally to the enemy, as they retreated, "exchange kings, and we will fight the battle over again."

William did not follow up his victory at the Boyne with all the energy that might have been expected. James's army retreated to the Shannon; and was pursued by ten regiments of foot and five of cavalry under General Douglas. The French were at this time masters of the sea. William, therefore, marched along the coast, and took Wexford, Waterford, and Duncannon forts. Having anchored his fleet in places of safety, with five regiments he left the army, on the 27th of July, with the intent of returning to England: but having been apprized on his march, that the French, after having set fire to the small fishing-town of Teignmouth, had quitted the coast, he returned to the army on the 8th of August, and advanced to Limerick, round which the greatest part of James's army was gathered. There General Douglas, after an ineffectual pursuit of the enemy, and an unsuccessful attempt upon Athlone, joined him. William, after having lain before the town about ten days, ordered a general storm, but was repulsed with heavy loss. He soon after raised the siege; and on the same day set off for England, leaving Count Solmes to command the army, who was very soon superseded by General Ginkell.

Lord Marlborough, being anxious to signalize himself, obtained from the Queen and council the command of 5000 men, that were then unemployed in England. He gave a solemn pledge that he would take Cork and Kinsale before the winter, which he effected, and returned to England on the 28th of October, where he was received with great acclamation,

1690.
Marlborough takes
Cork and
Kinsale.

1690.



William's
anxiety to
terminate
the Irish
war.

and some national boast, that an English general had accomplished more in one month, than all William's foreign generals had effected in two campaigns.

William was most anxious to terminate the war in Ireland: for whilst there was a loyal banner flying, he was apprehensive of the English malecontents, whom he knew to be more numerous than it was prudent to notice. He accordingly gave orders to Ginkell to make an end of the war at any rate. With great wisdom he completely recruited his army, and supplied it with all necessary provisions and stores. He sent over also an unlimited pardon to all, who would apply for the benefit of it. James having reported unfavourably to Louis of his prospects in Ireland, and having endeavoured to palliate his flight by arraigning the conduct of his Irish troops, great part of the French forces under Boileau marched to Galway, and thence re-embarked for France. The service was disagreeable to the French: they undervalued the Irish; and felt little ardour in fighting for a nation abandoned by their own sovereign. On the other hand, the Irish ridiculed the pompous parade and pageantry of the French, and set so high a value upon the superiority of their own prowess and athletic powers, as to disdain their assistance. Jealousies and broils were the consequence of these opposite sensations. Great disorders prevailed during the winter from the undisciplined state of the army, which James had thus abandoned; the cruelties of the lowest orders of peasantry, called Raparrees, who outraged both friend and foe, and the brutality with which the army of

William treated the Irish as a conquered people, all conspired to complete the miseries of the unfortunate Irish. James sent back Tyrconnel as chief governor, to restore order and confidence. Competitions rose between him and Sarsfield, and it was found advisable to supersede them both by St. Ruth, a French general, who took the command of the army in the spring. He was an officer of great merit, and notwithstanding a general want of money, stores, provisions, and every necessary for the campaign, effected by a judicious plan of defence more than could have been expected under so many disadvantages.

1691.

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After a very valiant defence, Athlone was taken by storm, and St. Ruth fell back upon Aghrim, which lay about ten miles to the southward. The jealousy between St. Ruth and Sarsfield, which had subsisted from the appointment of the latter, rose to an excess at Athlone, and contributed to the loss of that important garrison. St. Ruth collected about 25,000 men at Aghrim, and there resolved to put the fate of the country on the hazard of a battle. His dispositions and order of battle were extremely judicious; and the contest was maintained with equal bravery by both armies. The Irish, by the masterly movements of St. Ruth, were gaining the advantage over the English army, which had been carried by its ardour into a most perilous situation, when St. Ruth was killed by a cannon-ball. This event gave a turn to the day, and the English gained a complete victory; which they disgraced by following up with such fury for four miles, as to give no quarter. They report, that they

Battle of  
Aghrim.



1691. killed above 7000 of the enemy and lost only about 700 of their own men. Sarsfield, who, on the death of St. Ruth, succeeded to the command, not having had the order of battle communicated to him was unable to follow it up: and such was the confusion, into which the death of St. Ruth threw the Irish army, that they could not be rallied, and they retired in haste and disorder upon Limerick.

Siege of  
Limerick.

Limerick was the only place of strength, in which the Irish could make a stand; and here they resolved to venture their last stake. Ginkell followed with as much haste as he prudently could, and with a view of finishing the war at all events, took every place as he advanced. Galway alone stood a siege of two days: its garrison capitulated on condition of being allowed to transport themselves, with their arms, to Limerick, where they added to the general confusion, and increased the danger of famine, to which the influx of troops had exposed it. Ginkell set down before Limerick on the 25th of July, and made his approaches on the English side of the town. In the course of about ten days both the English and Irish sides of the town were nearly reduced to ashes. The besieged were nearly as numerous as the besiegers, and both displayed equal valour. Unfortunately for the Irish there still existed unconquerable jealousies between them and the French officers, who had commands amongst them: whereas perfect unanimity and an emulation of rival generals prevailed in the English army to distinguish themselves above each other. During the siege, a French officer, who was on duty when a party

of the besieged was retreating into the town from a sally, ordered the drawbridge to be drawn up, lest the English might be admitted promiscuously within the town, by which means a body of 1000 of the Irish was sacrificed, which so irritated them against the French, that they exclaimed, that instead of acting as their allies, they were their most merciless enemies. These mutual jealousies rose to such a height, that both parties, from opposite motives, concurred in a disposition to capitulate. 1691.

Ginkell, who had peremptory orders to put an end to the war on any condition, was more eager to grant, than the besieged to propose, terms of capitulation. On the next day, after this loss of men, terms were proposed by Ginkell, and instantly acceded to by the besieged. It was agreed, that all the Irish then in Ireland, in the service of James, should be pardoned; that their estates and effects should be restored, and their attainders and their outlawries reversed: that none of them should be liable to actions, or prosecutions for deeds done by them during the war: and that all those, who inclined to go to France, and to transfer their allegiance to the French monarch, should be landed there at the expense of the English government\*. Immediately 15,000 men took advantage of these articles to transport themselves to France. Limerick capitulated on the 3d of October, 1691. The articles were honourable and advantageous to the Irish: but most ignominiously disregarded and violated by the English government, as will be hereafter

Capitulation articles of Limerick.

\* These articles may be seen in the Appendix, No. XLIX. of my Historical Review.

1691. noticed. They evidently prove in what estimation for valour and steadiness King William held the Irish, after the many advantages he had gained over them. Thus was Ireland formally and finally reduced by force of arms to the revolutionary government of King William. And this was really the first conquest of Ireland by the English \*.

\* The following compendious sketch of this reign by the late Earl of Clare is submitted to the impartial observer of Irish affairs. "After the expulsion of James from the throne of England, the old inhabitants made a final effort for the recovery of their ancient power, in which they were once more defeated by an English army; and the slender relicks of Irish possessions became the subject of fresh confiscation. From the report made by the commissioners appointed by the parliament of England in 1698, it appears, that the Irish subjects outlawed for the rebellion of 1688 amounted to three thousand nine hundred and seventy eight, and that their Irish possessions, as far as could be computed, were of the annual value of two hundred and eleven thousand six hundred and twenty-three pounds; comprising one million sixty thousand seven hundred and ninety-two acres. This fund was sold under the authority of an English act of parliament, to defray the expenses incurred by England in reducing the rebels of 1688; and the sale introduced into Ireland a new set of adventurers."

"It is a very curious and important speculation to look back to the forfeitures of Ireland incurred in the last century. The superficial contents of the island are calculated at eleven million forty-two thousand six hundred and eighty-two acres. Let us now examine the state of forfeitures:"

| In the reign of James I. the whole of the province |       | Acres.            |
|----------------------------------------------------|-------|-------------------|
| of Ulster was confiscated, containing              | —     | 2,836,837         |
| Set out by the Court of Claims at the Restoration  |       | 7,800,000         |
| Forfeitures of 1688                                | — — — | 1,060,792         |
| Total                                              |       | <u>11,697,629</u> |

"So that the whole of your island has been confiscated, with the exception of the estates of five or six families of English blood, some of whom had been attainted in the reign of Henry the VIIIth, but recovered their possessions before Tyrone's rebellion, and had the good fortune to escape the pillage of the English republic inflicted by Cromwell; and no inconsiderable portion of the island has been confiscated twice, or perhaps thrice, in the course of a century. The situation, therefore, of the Irish nation, at the revolution, stands unparalleled in the history of the inhabited world. If the wars of England carried on here, from the reign of Elizabeth, had been waged against a foreign enemy, the inhabitants would have retained their possessions under the established law of civilized nations, and their country have been annexed as a province to the British empire." (Speech on the Union).

1691.

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